



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

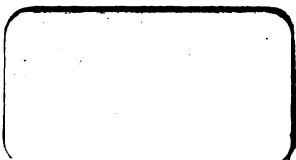
About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

Br 2035.14



HARVARD
COLLEGE
LIBRARY



THE
HISTORY OF ENGLAND

FROM THE

ACCESSION OF GEORGE III.

1760 TO 1835.

BY THE REV. T. S. HUGHES, B. D.

PREBENDARY OF PETERBOROUGH,
LATE CHRISTIAN ADVOCATE AT CAMBRIDGE, &c. &c.

IN SEVEN VOLUMES.

VOL. VII.

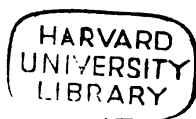
LONDON:
PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY A. J. VALPY, M. A.

AND SOLD BY ALL BOOKSELLERS.

1836.

~~2466.7~~

Bu 2035.14



44-176
246.5
60-63

CONTENTS

OF

THE SEVENTH VOLUME.

CHAPTER LXII.

GEORGE IV. (CONTINUED.)—1823.

State of the country at the beginning of 1823—Opening of the session—Debates on Spain and the holy alliance—Affairs of Spain, and restoration of Ferdinand VII.—Affairs of Portugal—Agricultural and commercial interests—Free trade—The budget—Affairs in Ireland—Catholic question—Fracas between Mr. Brougham and Mr. Canning—Motions to reform the criminal law—Lord A. Hamilton's motion to reform the state of Scotch representation—Mr. Canning's opinions on the subject of reform, &c.—New London-bridge bill—Mr. Creevey's motion respecting the four and a half per cent duty on the Leeward Islands—Expenses of the coronation—Other instances of extravagant expenditure exposed by Mr. Hume—The king's donation of the library of George III. to the public—Irish tithe commutation bill—Dissenters' marriage act thrown out—Prorogation of parliament—State of the country—Appointment of consuls to the South American colonies—Sentiments of Mr. Canning on this subject, &c.—Extract from his speech at Plymouth—State of the country at the beginning of 1824—Meeting of parliament—Attack on ministers on account of the occupation of Spain, &c.—Recognition of South American in-

dependence—Financial statement—Repeal of taxes, bounties, &c.—Steps towards a more unrestricted system of trade—Debates on the same—Alien bill, &c.—State of Ireland, catholic association, &c. page 1

CHAPTER LXIII.

Parliamentary discussions—State of the colonies—Affairs of Spain and Portugal—Death of Louis XVIII.—East Indian affairs under lord Amherst's presidency—Case of Mr. Buckingham—Burmese war—Peace concluded on terms favorable to the British government—Commercial treaty with the court of Ava—The rajah of Bhurtpoor reinstated by lord Combermere—Arrival of lord William Bentinck as governor-general 26

CHAPTER LXIV.

Meeting of parliament—Bill for the suppression of unlawful associations in Ireland—Catholic relief bill—Its failure in the house of lords—Speech of the duke of York, and his great popularity with the high-church party—Legal reforms—Increased salary of the judges—Unitarian marriage-act—Act against combinations among workmen—Free trade system—Corn laws—Financial statements—Close of session—Great commercial panic—Domestic events—Review of foreign relations—Opening of the session of 1826—Means adopted for the restoration of commercial confidence—Modification of the corn laws—Debates on restrictions of foreign manufactures—State of finances—Criminal code—State of the colonies—Scotch representation—Removal of attainders—Dissolution of parliament—Dissensions in the cabinet—Violence of parties at the general election—Meeting of the new parliament—Indemnity bill—Vigor of Mr. Canning's policy in Portugal—Capture of Missolonghi—Opening of the Menai bridge—Death of the duke of York—Duke of Wellington commander-in-chief—Catholic question—Illness of lord Liverpool—Dissolution of the cabinet—Appointment of Mr. Canning as premier 76

CHAPTER LXV.

Re-assembling of parliament—Explanations by the seceding members of the cabinet—Formidable opposition to the ministry—A portion of the whig party joins the administration—Rejection of the new corn bill by the lords—Financial statements—Corrupt boroughs—Improvement of the criminal code—Close of the session—Death of Mr. Canning—His character—Lord Goderich prime minister—Dissensions, and dissolution of the cabinet—Duke of Wellington appointed premier—Review of foreign policy—Treaty with France and Russia—Battle of Navarino—Meeting of parliament—Dispute between the duke of Wellington and Mr. Huskisson—State of the finances—Grant to the family of Mr. Canning—State of the currency—Budget—Repeal of the test and corporation acts—Catholic claims—Resignation of Mr. Huskisson and other members of the cabinet—Prorogation of parliament—War between Russia and Turkey—State of Portugal—Disturbances in Ireland—Recall of the marquis of Anglesea—Death and character of the earl of Liverpool—Trial and execution of Burke at Edinburgh—Opening of the London University and St. Katharine Docks—Review of foreign policy page 131

CHAPTER LXVI.

Agitations in Ireland—Election of Mr. O'Connell for Clare—Difficulties of the cabinet—Determination of the government to concede to the catholics—Opening of parliament—Suppression of the catholic association—Rejection of Mr. Peel at Oxford—Debates and passing of the emancipation bill—Disfranchisement of the Irish forty-shilling freeholders—Financial statements—Motion for parliamentary reform—Prorogation of parliament—Affairs of the continent—Agricultural and commercial distress—State of affairs in Ireland—Conflagration of York Minster—Opening of new Fleet Market and Post Office—New police—Meeting of parliament in 1830—Distress of the nation denied by ministers—Speeches, &c., on occasion of the address—Motions for inquiry, &c.—Debates on reductions and taxation, &c.—Committee on East-India company's charter

—Debate on the currency—The budget—Beer bill—Reform of parliament—Debates on subjects connected with it—Bill for amending the law on libel—Alterations in courts of justice—Illness of the king—Bill to authorise a stamp for the sign manual—Death of George IV. page 183

CHAPTER LXVII.

WILLIAM IV.—1830.

Sentiments of the whigs—King proclaimed, and parliament opened—Addresses—Symptoms of disagreement between the whigs and ministers—Opposition of the tories—Explanations on both sides, and declaration of hostilities—First court of William IV. ; his declaration to the prelates, reception of addresses, &c.—Prorogation and dissolution of the parliament—Measures taken by the whigs to pave their way to office—Revolutions in France and the Netherlands—Causes which rendered the elections in England unfavorable to ministers—Meeting of the new parliament—King's speech, addresses, &c.—Duke of Wellington's denunciations against reform—Other causes of popular dissatisfaction with the government; case of Belgium; postponement of the king's visit to Guildhall—Notice taken of it in parliament—Defeat of ministers, and resignation—State of parties—Formation of earl Grey's administration—Mr. Stanley's defeat at Preston—Regency bill passed—Parliament adjourns—Opening of the Liverpool and Manchester railway, and death of Mr. Huskisson—State of foreign nations—State of public mind regarding parliamentary reform—Introduction and progress of the reform bill through the house of commons—Dissolution of parliament—New parliament assembled—Progress of the bill continued—Budget, &c.—Advance of the bill through the house of commons—Bill read a first time in the upper house—Opening of London Bridge—King's assent to the queen's dower-bill—Grant to the duchess of Kent—Coronation—Progress of the reform bill in the lords—Rejection of it—Prorogation of parliament—State of the country—Appearance of cholera in the north—Foreign affairs—Parliament assembles—Re-introduction of the reform bill—Its progress to its final settlement 244

CHAPTER LXVIII.

General election—State of the continent—Discussion of the slave question—Opening of the first reformed parliament—Bill for the suppression of disturbances in Ireland—Irish church bill—Loan to the clergy of Ireland—Act for the extinction of slavery in the British colonies—Renewal of the Bank charter—Settlement of the East India question—Factory bill—Corporation commission—Foreign politics—Close of the session—Opening of the session of 1834—Joint address of the lords and commons—Divisions in the cabinet—Renewal of Irish coercion bill—Earl Grey resigns, and lord Melbourne is created premier—Rejection of the Irish tithes bill by the peers—Grievances of dissenters—Commutation of tithes—Poor-laws amendment act—Debates on agriculture—Shipping interest—Financial statements—Close of the session—Unpopularity of ministers—Dissolution of the cabinet—Administration of Sir Robert Peel—Dissolution of parliament—General election—Ecclesiastical commission—Meeting of the new parliament—Election of Mr. Abercromby as speaker—Defeat of ministers on the address—Orange societies—Malt tax—Dissenters' marriage bill—Irish tithes bill—Defeat of ministers—Resignation of Sir Robert Peel, and recall of lord Melbourne's administration—Conclusion page 330

INDEX 417

THE
HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

CHAPTER LXII.

GEORGE IV. (CONTINUED.)—1823.

State of the country at the beginning of 1823—Opening of the session—Debates on Spain and the holy alliance—Affairs of Spain, and restoration of Ferdinand VII.—Affairs of Portugal—Agricultural and commercial interests—Free trade—The budget—Affairs in Ireland—Catholic question—Fracas between Mr. Brougham and Mr. Canning—Motions to reform the criminal law—Lord A. Hamilton's motion to reform the state of Scotch representation—Mr. Canning's opinions on the subject of reform, &c.—New London-bridge bill—Mr. Creevey's motion respecting the four and a half per cent duty on the Leeward Islands—Expenses of the coronation—Other instances of extravagant expenditure exposed by Mr. Hume—The king's donation of the library of George III. to the public—Irish tithe commutation bill—Dissenters' marriage act thrown out—Prorogation of parliament—State of the country—Appointment of consuls to the South American colonies—Sentiments of Mr. Canning on this subject, &c.—Extract from his speech at Plymouth—State of the country at the beginning of 1824—Meeting of parliament—Attack on ministers on account of the occupation of Spain, &c.—Recognition of South American independence—Financial statement—Repeal of taxes, bounties, &c.—Steps towards a more unrestricted system of trade—Debates on the same—Alien bill, &c.—State of Ireland, catholic association, &c.

At the opening of this year, the country presented a more favorable aspect than it had assumed for State of the country.

CHAP.
LXII.

1823.

some time past: commerce and manufactures continued to improve; and the distress of the farmer was somewhat mitigated, though the landed proprietors were still clamorous for relief. Many petitions on this subject were voted at county meetings, the most remarkable of which was held at Norwich, on the third of January, where a petition in unison with the views of the opposition was proposed and favorably received; but Mr. Cobbett, by way of amendment, presented an address, elaborately, though briefly drawn up; the principal propositions of which were, an appropriation of church property to the service of the state; and an equitable adjustment, with regard, not only to the public debt, but to all debts and contracts between man and man: this amendment was carried by acclamation.

Meeting of
parliament.

The session was opened on the fourth of February by commission, with a speech that elicited general approbation; particularly that part of it, which expressed his majesty's determination to be no party to those proceedings at Verona which sanctioned the interference of foreigners with the internal affairs of Spain; and that he would use his earnest endeavors and good offices to prevent the calamity of war between that country and France. Mr. Canning, having vacated his seat for Liverpool,¹ had not yet returned to parliament; but an energetic philippic, pronounced by Mr. Brougham against the meditated aggression of the holy alliance, quite electrified the house: being, however, felt in Spain, it produced rather an injurious effect on the constitutionalists by the fatal confidence with which it inspired them. Even in the house of peers a spirit favorable to the liberal cause now manifested itself; and this, added to the unanimity of public sentiment, inspired the party in opposition with hopes of a triumph over their opponents: lord Ellenborough, therefore, on

¹ Considering the duties imposed on him by the representation of that important town incompatible with those of his office, he resigned it, and was elected member for Harwich; his friend, Mr. Huskisson, succeeding him at Liverpool.

the twenty-fourth of April, made a motion in the upper house, for an address to his majesty, expressing, in high terms, a condemnation of the conduct of France and the other allied powers, as well as of the British cabinet, in requiring Spain to alter her constitution at their dictation : after a long debate, however, it appeared, that ministers had used every practicable effort to prevent the attack on Spain ; and in advising her to modify a constitution, which, being strongly democratic, was very inimical to the principles of true liberty, had acted the part of sincere friends. The motion was rejected by an immense majority ; and a similar one, introduced into the lower house by Mr. Macdonald, was disposed of in the same way, after a debate which lasted three nights. Mr. Canning, in a brilliant and argumentative harangue, forced on the house so powerfully a conviction that every thing had been done which duty and sound policy required in all our late transactions with Spain and the allied powers, that Mr. Brougham became anxious to save his party from exposure to defeat by avoiding a division : in this artifice, however, he was foiled by his antagonist, who insisted on the question being put ; and as the opposition members tried to escape, by quitting the house, their opponents obliged the speaker, according to its rules, to declare the numbers ; when the result gave to ministers an overwhelming majority of 372 against 20.

CHAP.
LXII.

1823.

No regular motion was again made in the British parliament on this subject ; and all things in Spain favored the cause of the holy allies. Though public feeling in Great Britain was roused to indignation by the perfidious conduct of the French government, yet it must be said, that public judgment was averse to our entering into a war, for the preservation of a constitution not worth preserving, and unsupported by the great mass of the people. The hero, therefore, of the Trocadero, at the head of a large army, and supported by the intire resources of an undistracted monarchy, with the confederated powers of Europe in reserve, found no great difficulty in

CHAP.
LXII.

1823.

triumphing over a cause, which was not only opposed by all the bigotry of the Spanish nation, but betrayed by the very troops and leaders who had sworn to uphold it. In a single, and almost bloodless campaign, despotism was restored, together with Ferdinand VII.; who, having been released by the constitutionalists from *surveillance* at Cadiz, exhibited the gratitude of a Bourbon; by innumerable sentences of death, imprisonment, and exile, which signalised his restoration. The advance of the French army into Spain was a signal of revolt for the Portuguese royalists, headed by the queen and her second son, Don Miguel: by their intrigues, the inconstant soldiery, ignorant of the object of either party, were excited to destroy that slight framework of a constitution which they had raised, and to replace arbitrary power in the hands of the king.

The distress of the landed interests had been discussed in the house of commons early in the session, and subsequently on a proposition of Mr. Whitmore for reducing the import price of grain two shillings a year, until it should fall to sixty shillings. The motion was negatived; but a disposition was manifested by government to open the trade in corn: the foreign trade committee was at the same time re-appointed, and farther steps were taken to free commerce from restrictions. In prosecuting this more liberal line of policy, ministers acted cautiously and prudently: they knew that the restrictive system involved so many interests and prejudices, and had taken such deep root in the minds of a large body of men, that it must be gradually relaxed: even where it could be abandoned safely and without delay, it was difficult to persuade men to give it up.

On the twenty-first of February, the new chancellor of the exchequer brought forward his budget; and, discarding the old system of financial shifts and mystification, put the house in possession of his views with a candor and simplicity of statement that elicited much applause even from the opponents of government. The total revenue of the year was estimated at £57,096,988; and the expenditure, inclu-

ding the interest of the national debt, at £49,852,786 ; leaving a clear surplus of above £7,000,000 : thence he proposed to relieve the burdens of the country by a repeal of assessed taxes to the amount of £2,000,000, retaining the other £5,000,000 toward the liquidation of the national debt. In this arrangement, rejecting what he considered the delusion of a larger nominal sinking-fund, which in fact had always been appropriated to different purposes, he swept away the cumbrous machinery which supported it ; and, by placing the financial system of the country on a more intelligible foundation, he obtained much applause, and carried his estimates for the year with very slight opposition.

No small portion of the session was wasted in discussing the daring insolence exhibited by the agents of the ascendant party in Dublin. The government of lord Wellesley was too impartial and enlightened to escape abuse from the Orange faction : he had prohibited them to dress up the statue of king William in College-green ; a ceremony, which perpetuated animosity, and frequently led to riot and bloodshed : the Orangemen, however, took fire at this interference with their insulting display of superiority ; and when his lordship, on the fourteenth of December, visited the theatre, some wretches threw a bottle at him from the gallery. Three persons were taken into custody ; and the attorney-general indicted them for a misdemeanor, instead of a capital offence : bills of indictment were found against two only by the grand jury ; and as two persons cannot commit a riot, the finding was nugatory. Mr. Plunkett then filed an *ex-officio* information against these persons, whom, on evidence received, he believed guilty ; but the petty jury could not agree in their verdict, and the prisoners were discharged. The matter was subjected to much tedious investigation in parliament, which tended at all events to show the daring manner in which juries were packed, and the name of justice was abused in Ireland.

CHAP.
LXII.

1823.
Fracas
of Mr.
Brougham
and Mr.
Canning.

On the seventeenth of April a motion for a committee on the catholic claims was made by Mr. Plunkett, but lost; the question of adjournment being carried by 313 voices against 111. The previous discussion was remarkable for an attack on Mr. Canning, fiercer than the susceptible temperament of that gentleman could bear with patience. Mr. Tierney, who had declared that ministers deserted the question of catholic emancipation, was followed in the debate by Mr. Brougham; and he, after praising the single, manly, and upright conduct of Mr. Peel, who had never swerved from his opinions, and who had not taken office on a secret understanding to abandon the question in substance, while he continued to sustain it in words, contrasted this conduct with the supposed delinquency of Mr. Canning; who, 'when the point was, whether he should submit to a sentence of transportation to India, or be condemned to hard labor at home, when his fate, in fact, depended on lord chancellor Eldon, and his own sentiments on the catholic question, had exhibited the most incredible specimen of monstrous truckling for office, which the whole history of political tergiversation could furnish.' At this moment, Mr. Canning, who for some time had labored to control his emotions, and sat with his eye fixed on the member that was speaking, suddenly started up, and interrupted him by exclaiming—'I rise to say, it is false.' A deep silence for a few seconds ensued; after which, the speaker called on the right honorable secretary to retract an expression, which any individual of his high rank and office must know to be a complete violation of the rules and orders of the house: Mr. Canning, however, though sorry to have used any word which violated the decorum of the house, declared, that he would not for any consideration in the world retract the sentiment; and this he repeated in answer to farther remonstrances from the speaker, who called on the chancellor of the exchequer, and the house generally, to support him in

his authority. As Mr. Brougham would not explain till Mr. Canning had retracted, Mr. Banks moved that both members be taken into custody by the serjeant at arms: at last, Sir Robert Wilson extricated all parties by the suggestion of an hypothetical and mutual explanation; Mr. Banks withdrew his motion; and the right honorable and learned gentlemen declared, they would discard the subject from their minds.

On the twenty-first of May, Sir James Mackintosh renewed his praiseworthy efforts to reform our criminal code, in a series of resolutions, the first of which went to take away the punishment of death in cases of larceny committed in shops and dwelling-houses, and on navigable rivers. Though these were resisted and negatived by the house, four bills were afterwards brought in by Mr. Peel on the same subject; which, though they fell short of the reforms contemplated by Sir James, were important steps in the rational reform of our criminal law: by these bills, government was enabled to employ male convicts in hard labor, and the judges were relieved from the obligation of passing sentence of death on certain malefactors, except in case of murder. On the twenty-seventh, Mr. Lennard obtained leave to bring in a bill, abolishing the old and barbarous law, which sentenced the corpse of one guilty of *felo-de-se* to be buried at two cross roads, with a stake driven through it; leaving the burial to be performed in private, without the ceremonies of the church.

On the second of June, lord Archibald Hamilton brought under consideration the state of representation in the counties of Scotland; and he particularly invited the attention of Mr. Canning to this important question, as one with which he had not yet grappled; and as perfectly different in its nature from that of any question about reform in England, where representation was founded on property and population: neither the one nor the other was necessarily its basis in Scotland; for in the counties

CHAP.
LXII.

1823.

it was not founded on property, and in the burghs it was not founded on population. 'In England,' said his lordship, 'the object of all laws on this subject, was to correct the abuses which had crept in, and to enforce the rights of electors; but he would show that the defects of the system in Scotland did not rest in the abuses, but in the very nature of the law: for this assertion he had the authority of lord chancellor Thurlow, who declared, that the evil was fundamental, and such as the legislature alone could remedy; for the right of election might rest intirely in the hands of those who had no earthly stake in the country.' After a very able and argumentative exposition of the case, his lordship proposed five resolutions, the latter of which went to pledge the house to take the subject into its serious consideration during the next session, with a view to effect some extension of the number of votes, and to establish some connexion between the elective franchise and the landed property of the country: the motion was ably seconded by Mr. Maxwell, and supported by Sir George Clerk, Mr. Kennedy, Sir James Mackintosh, lord Milton, and others; but being opposed by lord Binning and the lord advocate,² was negatived without a division, after the previous question had been carried by a majority of 152 against 117 voices.

The noble mover failed in securing the approbation of Mr. Canning to his proposal; since that gentleman, with all his liberality on other subjects, would never listen to any arguments which might open the door to parliamentary reform: on this question, he always conceded what was undeniable in fact, and clear to an unprejudiced mind; never, like many of his colleagues, with over-ardent zeal putting falsehood and truth on a level, without conscience or discrimination; but taking his stand on

² An officer, who for a great length of time seemed as if he was appointed to be the defender of all abuses, and to take a part exactly opposite to that assigned to the Roman consul; in short, to see — *Ne quid 'commodi' caperet respublica.*

some specious and tenable objection : thus, instead of asserting that the system was perfect and pure, he granted that many evils complained of actually existed in the representation ; but still he asserted, that the system worked well ; and its evils were far less than those which would result from the application of a remedy. If Great Britain could have been always sure of possessing an enlightened minister at its helm like Mr. Canning, his reasons would have held good : indeed, this principle might be carried out to much greater extent ; for a despotism would be the best of governments, if the despot were the best of men. In the mean time, the great question of parliamentary reform was progressive, and the very obstinacy of Mr. Canning inclined many to favor it ; since no public man ever existed, in whose character flaws were more dilated on, or exaggerated by political enmity ; and multitudes, who were not aware of his good qualities, were taught to believe that ‘the system worked well’ for the gratification of his rapacity and ambition.

On the sixth of June, Mr. Brogden brought up the report of a bill, by which the sum of £150,000 was to be advanced by government, toward the construction of New London-bridge : to Mr. Hume’s objection against this advance in the shape of a gift, it was satisfactorily alleged by Mr. alderman Wood, that the work was one of great national utility, and not intended exclusively for the benefit of the city of London ; that the money was to be paid by instalments, extending over a term of seven years ; and that the corporation were ready to contribute every thing in their power on the occasion ; to give up nearly £200,000 that was in their hands, and to raise £400,000 more on mortgage : Mr. Ricardo agreed on this subject with his friend Mr. Hume ; but the report was received, and the resolution for the proposed advance carried. On the ninth, Mr. Creevey called the attention of the house to a very heavy grievance, under which the Leeward Islands

CHAP.
LXII.

1823.

were oppressed, by what was called the four and half per cent duty: he held in his hand petitions from five of these islands, setting forth their present calamitous circumstances, with their utter inability to bear such a tax, and throwing themselves on the liberality of parliament: the honorable member, having read the petitions, which complained generally of distress, depreciation in the value of West Indian produce, and the great hardship of the four and half per cent duty, proposed the abolition of an impost, on which were saddled so many pensions granted to our aristocratic families: he thought it hard on these five islands, that they should be burdened with the maintenance of so many ladies and gentlemen of condition in England: he was the last man to desire any interference with the private arrangements of the royal family; but the king had given pensions to two of his sisters at the expense of the unfortunate Leeward Islands: he meant nothing offensive; but he could not understand on what principle these annuities had been granted; why these islands were singled out for the honor of contributing to the subsistence of the duke of Gloucester and the prince of Hesse Homburg, he could not conceive: then there were five pensions of £500 each to the Misses Fitzclarence: there were also gentlemen high in office—one whom he saw in his place, and one whom he did not see—who condescended to allow the Leeward Islands to make provision for their families;—an honor, of which they were by no means desirous, and a principle to which he decidedly objected: right honorable gentlemen could not say they were ignorant of the colonies; their own acts proved their knowledge of the fact: they could support the colonies, and urge their distress, willingly enough in a particular way: they could tax East India sugar, and the consumer of West India sugar in England; but it never occurred to them, to abate that tax out of which their own pensions were derived. The object of the resolutions with which Mr. Creevey concluded, was

to obtain a pledge from the house, to remove this grievance from the Leeward Islands, and this scandal from the mother country. He was answered by Mr. Canning, who had been directly hinted at in his speech; and who objected to the motion, as affecting the right of the crown to this particular branch of revenue, and its right of appropriating the same in any manner deemed suitable by his majesty's government. Though he acknowledged the great distress under which the Leeward Islands were then suffering, and wished that the fund could be so modified as to meet the circumstances of that distress; yet he deprecated every notion of placing it at the arbitrary disposal of parliament, under whose sanction it had so long existed in its present state: indeed, he argued, no vote of that house existed to support the honorable gentleman's argument: Mr. Burke himself, in his most sanguine efforts to effect a financial reform, had never entertained a doubt on the subject of this fund; but left it, as he found it, at the disposal of the crown. With respect to his own case, alluded to by the mover of this question, he observed; 'it was true, that many years ago he had held an office; on retiring from which, by uniform practice, and that sanctioned by law, he became intitled to a pension of £1200 per annum; but he waived his claim to that annuity; and it was true, that such right was afterwards commuted for a pension of half the amount, for a person who had direct claims on him for protection; he remembered also, with great satisfaction, that this choice was thought at the time a considerable sacrifice on his part: it was certainly open to parliament to deliberate on particular instances in the disposal of this fund; and he would not complain of the manner in which the honorable gentleman had exerted his right in the present instance: yet he well knew that he (Mr. Canning) could, if he chose, have taunted him with the names of persons in the same situation, and

CHAP.
LXII.

1823.

connected with parties whom the honorable gentleman highly respected ; that mode however was too invidious to follow : the house had a right to examine into supposed abuses as to the application of this, as well as any other branch of the revenue ; but he must say, the honorable gentleman did not seem to have made out any case which called for censure.' The house agreed with Mr. Canning ; and, rejecting Mr. Creevey's resolutions by a majority of 103 to 57 voices, gave an accelerated velocity to the cause of parliamentary reform.

At the same time, the expenses of the late coronation came before the commons ; when many severe animadversions were called forth from Mr. Hume, not only on the length of time which had elapsed before they were laid on the table, but on the enormous extent to which they ran. The promise given by the chancellor of the exchequer was, that they should not exceed £100,000 ; but they now turned out to be £238,000 ; the surplus having been taken from the French indemnities ! Estimates so totally at variance with the expenses were rightly characterised as a folly and a farce : some of the items of this sum were especially noticed : for instance, the sum of £111,000 for the decoration of Westminster-abbey and hall ; £27,700 paid to the master of his majesty's robes, on account of those habiliments ; and £3000 granted to Sir George Naylor toward the expense of publishing an account of the ceremony. Of what service, said Mr. Hume, was it to attempt the relief of public burdens, by cutting down small clerks, and inflicting distress on other individuals, when such sums as these were expended for such purposes ? He also reproached the ministry with very bad faith, in calling for so small a sum as had been originally mentioned, and afterwards proposing a vote to the amount of £238,000 : they knew, that if the latter sum had been originally asked for, it would not have been granted : he also accused the chancellor of the

exchequer and his colleagues of violating public faith, by taking money to which they had no right; subtracting £138,000 from the sum paid by France for indemnities to this country, and which ought to have been appropriated to the ways and means. The honorable gentleman thought the house would fail in its duty to the public, if it did not, before it proceeded one step farther, call for an examination into the profligate extravagance of this job; and he concluded with a proposal for a committee for such purpose; but more especially to inquire, by what authority the sum of £138,000 had been applied to the coronation expenses without the previous sanction of the house.

CHAP.
LXII.

1823.

On Mr. Hume's amendment being put, the chancellor of the exchequer rose, and, under pretence of being taken by surprise, made a miserable reply: however, it satisfied his audience, and the amendment was negatived by a majority of 110 to 65. The house next went into committee; and the sum of £160,000 was proposed toward defraying the civil contingences of 1823: this gave Mr. Hume an opportunity of bringing forward many other items in the extravagant system of expenditure now pursued; particularly, the sum of £5327 for furniture in the royal yacht, £504 for plate in the Rolls-chapel, and £1329 for the standards of the three regiments of foot guards: he also drew attention to the charges made on account of foreign ambassadors; though, in a diplomatic point of view, this country was worse served than any other in Europe; every thing being done at the head-quarters of our allies; while our government was kept in such ignorance, that its ambassadors might be as well retained at home. The honorable member, in the absence of returns, which the secretary for foreign affairs refused to produce, referred to the comparative statement of expenses for the diplomatic services of 1792 and 1820:—

CHAP. LXII.		1792.	1820.
	Total amount of salaries and annual allowances	£83,463	£149,778
1823.	Outfit and equipage	8000	13,191
	Extraordinary and incidental expenses, charges, &c.	5,985	35,092
	Pensions to retired ministers	11,486	54,204
		£101,734	252,265
			101,734
			£150,531

‘And this difference,’ said Mr. Hume, ‘exists, although Poland and Brussels, the Hans Towns, Genoa, Cologne, Hesse Cassel, and Venice form each an item in the account of 1792, and not in that of 1820; as they have been expunged from the list of independent states; while the only additional states included in that of 1820 are Wurtemberg and Brazil, with £2000 for Persia.’ After commenting on the distinction between that part of the civil list appropriated to the special purposes of government, and the other part applicable to the expenses of the king’s household, and contending, on the authority of Mr. Fox and Sir Fletcher Norton, that the former was under the control of parliament,—the honorable gentleman concluded by moving for a reduction of £52,799 from the present vote of £160,090: Mr. Canning, however, defended the expenditure; the house was satisfied; and Mr. Hume’s amendment was rejected by seventy votes against sixteen.

Munifi-
cence of
George IV.

As our attention has been called to so many cases of ministerial profusion, several of which arose from a desire to indulge his majesty’s love of splendor, justice requires that we should notice a noble instance of royal munificence, calculated, not only to benefit the present age, but to extend its advantages into remote generations. By a letter addressed to lord Liverpool, in January, the king signified his intention of presenting to the British nation the very

valuable library collected by his father, for the purpose, according to his own expressions, of 'advancing the literature of the country, while he paid a just tribute to the memory of a parent, whose life was adorned with every public and private virtue.' This letter, together with certain resolutions of the trustees of the British Museum on the subject, having been, by his majesty's command, laid before the house of commons, was referred to a select committee, which, on the sixteenth of April, made its report. After noticing the great value and extent of the library, consisting of more than 65,000 volumes, besides a very numerous collection of geographical and topographical works, the committee expressed an opinion, that the greatest benefit would accrue to the public, if his majesty's magnificent donation were placed under the care of the trustees of the British Museum; and if a building were raised for its reception, forming part of a general design for an edifice calculated to contain the several collections of the whole Museum: the committee, in conclusion, recommended that successive grants should be made to effect the purposes above specified; in consequence of which, the house voted a sum of £40,000 to commence the work; and the foundation of the new structure, on a plan prepared by Mr. Smirke, and approved by the lords of the treasury, was laid this year. The noble room intended to receive the royal library was completed in 1827; and in the following summer this valuable collection was transferred to the Museum, where it remains a splendid monument of the good taste and patriotic spirit of George IV.

CHAP.
LXII.

1823.

During the present session, a very beneficial act was passed for the commutation of tithes in Ireland; and a motion, made by lord Lansdowne, for the second reading of the dissenters' marriage bill, which might enable them to have the marriage ceremony performed in their own chapels, was warmly supported by lords Ellenborough, Calthorpe, and Liver-

CHAP.
LXII.

1823.

State of the
country.

pool; but being opposed by the lord chancellor, the archbishop of Canterbury, and several other prelates, it was thrown out by a majority of twenty-seven against twenty-one. The remainder of the proceedings in parliament were not marked by any character of peculiar importance; and the session, which was on the whole very laborious, but more harmonious than any other since the peace, was closed by commission on the nineteenth of July.

Throughout the remainder of the year, the internal prosperity of the country appeared to advance, and public confidence in the government increased: this feeling was mainly attributable to an altered tone in the administration, which was ascribed to the ascendancy of Mr. Canning over the cabinet; while the general popularity of that minister was increased by the whole tenor of his measures. One of the most decided of these, and most advantageous to Great Britain, was the appointment of British consuls to the chief commercial places in the revolted colonies of Spain, as soon as the mother country fell again under the despotism of its tyrannical monarch; and this virtual recognition of South American independence was accompanied with a spirited declaration to the perfidious cabinet of M. Villele; which was plainly told, that although Great Britain, faithful to her principles of neutrality, would not oppose the attempts of Spain to recover her colonies, the interference of any third power would be met by force. Though British feelings, irritated as they were by the treachery of France and the arrogance of the holy allies, had been suppressed by the consideration, that war would grievously interrupt public industry and improvement, yet the British minister was anxious to make it known, that there was a limit to our forbearance; and though the ultimate object of this country was the peace of Europe, yet it was not to be supposed that she either feared or was unprepared for war. These sentiments he expressed in one of his happiest

effusions, when returning thanks for the freedom of Plymouth, conferred on him during a visit to that noble seat of the British navy, which afforded him so beautiful and appropriate an illustration of his subject. 'Our present repose,' he observed, 'is no more a proof of our inability to act, than the state of inertness and inactivity, in which I have seen those mighty masses that float in the waters above your town, is a proof that they are devoid of strength, and incapable of being fitted for action. You well know, gentlemen, how soon one of those stupendous masses, now reposing on their shadows in perfect stillness, how soon, on any call of patriotism or necessity, it would assume the likeness of an animated thing, instinct with life and motion; how soon it would ruffle, as it were, its swelling plumage; how quickly it would put forth all its beauty and its bravery, collect its scattered elements of strength, and awaken its dormant thunder. As is one of these magnificent machines, when springing from inaction into a display of its might, such is England herself, while, apparently passive and motionless, she silently concentrates the power to be put forth on an adequate occasion: but God forbid that that occasion should arise! After a war sustained for nearly a quarter of a century, sometimes single-handed, and with all Europe arrayed at times against her, or at her side, England needs a period of tranquillity, and may enjoy it without fear of misconstruction. Long may we be enabled, gentlemen, to improve the blessings of our present situation; to cultivate the arts of peace; to give to commerce, now reviving, greater extension, with new spheres of employment; and to confirm the prosperity now generally diffused throughout this island.'

The year 1824 shone still more auspiciously than its predecessor on our commerce and manufactures; which appeared to receive a new impulse from the more enlarged and secure opening of the South American market: even agriculture felt

CHAP.
LXII.

1824.

CHAP.
LXII.

1824.

the influence of this amelioration ; and in all other branches of industry prices began to rise ; the complaints of the landowners were faint or unheard ; and the produce of our revenue exceeded the most sanguine expectations. This revival of prosperity, with an abundance of capital accumulated in the late war, but shut up during a long stagnancy of the markets, now gave a dangerous activity to enterprise, and generated that spirit of headlong speculation, which appeared in the memorable era of joint-stock schemes : the disastrous consequences, however, of that extraordinary mania were as yet neither felt nor foreseen ; and when parliament met on the third of February, the congratulations expressed by the commissioners, in the name of his majesty, on the prosperous state of the country, were echoed back in the addresses of both houses. So popular in general and unexceptionable had been the measures of government, that opposition found little to attack in our internal policy ; the continued occupation of Spain therefore by French troops, and the expediency of completely recognising her revolted colonies, formed, for a time, the chief objects of discussion. Lord Lansdowne, deploring the fate of Spain, regretted that ministers had not remonstrated with more energy, and thought that a greater advance should have been made towards our complete recognition of South American independence. Mr. Brougham, in the lower house, attacked the general tyranny and particular cruelties of the Austrians in one peninsula, and of Ferdinand in the other, with a strong battery of invective ; and, in allusion to the impotent efforts made by this country to ward off the blow from the constitutionalists, observed, ‘ that England was bound over in recognisances of £800,000,000 to keep the peace.’ Our foreign policy regarding Spain was subsequently discussed on motions made by lord John Russell and lord Nugent ; but it was vindicated by Mr. Canning, who showed that the conduct of Great Britain had been regulated by a due

regard for her own interests and dignity, as well as by an honorable attention to the just principles of international law; and that while we preserved peace, so necessary under present circumstances, we had, by bold and open remonstrances, paralysed schemes which the holy allies had formed, for extending their system of interference from the government of Spain to the internal condition of her colonies. These explanations were so generally satisfactory, that, except in the case of lord Lansdowne's motion, the question was not pressed to a division. The propriety of admitting the South American colonies into the rank of independent powers, was, in fact, only a consideration of time; and before the middle of this year, our cabinet determined on the recognition of Mexico, Columbia, and Buenos Ayres; with which states treaties of amity and commerce were concluded.

CHAP.
LXII.

1824.

Recogni-
tion of
South
American
independ-
ence.

Thus, the power so long exercised with injustice and partiality by Spain over her colonies vanished for ever: whatever forms the political relations of these states with the mother country may assume, their independence is, at all events, established. 'But,' as professor Heeren rightly observes, 'they have their most dangerous enemy in themselves. Who, indeed, would ensure to them solidity and permanence? for, though we see republican institutions springing up almost every where in this continent, how can such subsist, even in the most favorable event, among nations, where color determines the caste, and military commanders prescribe laws? and how can the universally proclaimed freedom of the press be compatible with the hierarchy?'³ The learned writer might have gone a step farther, and asked, how any political liberty can subsist with that hierarchy, or with that exclusive and intolerant support of the Roman church, which these states have interwoven in the very frame-work of their constitutions? What party, when freedom

³ vol. ii. p. 381.

CHAP.
LXII.

1824.

was introduced into Spain and Italy, was so much on the alert to oppose it, as the popish clergy? They exerted every nerve to prevail on Austria and France to attack the new institutions: in both countries, the common soldiers and the people, under the dominion of the priests, refused to fight; and the invaders overran them in a single campaign, almost without the necessity of striking a blow.

Financial
statements.

From the financial statement of the chancellor of the exchequer, it appeared that the public revenue continued to improve: notwithstanding the remission of taxes, it had last year produced £57,672,999; leaving a clear balance of £1,710,985 over the expenditure, beside the established sinking fund of five millions. A part of this surplus he proposed to employ in a grant of half a million for the erection of new churches; of £300,000 for the gradual renovation and improvement of Windsor-castle, that majestic seat of British monarchs; also of £60,000 for the purchase of the Angerstein pictures, in furtherance of a laudable design to establish a national gallery for the fine arts. These acts of liberality were rendered more easy by the unexpected repayment of £2,500,000 by Austria, for loans advanced by the British government during the late war: it was, in fact, but a small dividend on the debt due to this country; but, though it did not satisfy the expectations of some gentlemen in the house, it was rightly characterised by Mr. Canning as a god-send, and was dispersed accordingly.

In his financial calculations for the present year, Mr. Robinson anticipated a continued surplus, on the strength of which, he proposed a farther repeal of taxes to the amount of more than £1,000,000; and as an auxiliary measure, he suggested the discontinuance of certain bounties on fisheries and manufactures, which were no longer necessary: an extension also of the scheme for reducing the interest on the national debt was a prominent feature in his arrangement: thus, he proposed to convert the old four per cent stock,

amounting to £75,000,000, into a new fund, bearing interest at three and a half per cent; giving the holders of course the option of being paid off at par, or of acceding to the new plan, which was more profitable to the country than that of last year; since no bonus was given or required, and therefore the nominal amount of the debt was not increased. This arrangement, by which an annual saving of £375,000 was effected, met with the decided approbation of parliament, and was carried into execution with great facility.

CHAP.
LXII.

1824.

Important steps were taken, this session, towards a more unrestricted system of trade: one important measure consisted in a repeal of what were still left of the protecting duties between Ireland and Great Britain; and this, at the demand of the Irish themselves, who were taught by experience how unavailing those fiscal barriers had been to improve their trade. Enactments also were passed, tending to withdraw British silk-manufacturers from the protection of laws which prohibited the importation of foreign silks into this realm: the plan adopted, was, to lower the import duties on raw and thrown silk, to repeal all bounties on the exportation of this manufacture, and to substitute a duty of thirty per cent on foreign silks, instead of intirely prohibiting their importation. The first part of the scheme was generally approved; the second was received with indifference; but the third met with great opposition from the trade; and counsel were heard against it at the bar of the house of commons. The principles on which ministers proceeded were ably expounded by Mr. Huskisson, who illustrated the importance of liberating commerce from all unnecessary restrictions, by tracing the progress of the cotton trade: he asked, if restrictions had not been removed from that manufacture, whether this country could ever have made the gigantic exertions which distinguished it in the last war? ‘Does not,’ he said, ‘the number of persons employed in it, to the amount of 1,200,000, whose wants are supplied

CHAP.
LXII.

1824.

in return for their labor, afford more real encouragement to agriculture, than any regulations to force up artificial prices? It is to the growth of wealth, and the progress of industry, that this country must look, both for relief from present burdens, and for the means of making fresh exertions whenever they may be demanded: but it is not in the power of any artificial measures to give that real relief to agriculture, or to any other kind of occupation, which can only flow from increasing activity, and constant industry among the people. The most remarkable feature in the history of the cotton manufacture is the impetus which it has given to invention and discovery, and the ingenuity which it has called into action: the effect of this has been to produce the article at the lowest possible rate; and we find, that a greater number of persons have been employed to direct the machinery, in proportion as the manufacturer has had the prospect of fresh resources. But what is the situation of the silk trade under the prohibitory system, which some consider its greatest advantage? Why, the monopoly has produced, what it is always sure to produce, a total indifference to improvement. That useful zeal, which gives life to industry, which fosters ingenuity, and which in manufacturing concerns promotes a desire to produce the article in its most economical form, has been completely extinguished; and in this branch we are left far behind our neighbors: if the same system had been continued with respect to the cotton manufacture, it would have been at this moment as subordinate in extent to the woollen, as it is junior to it in its introduction into this country.'

Mr. Huskisson proceeded to notice the unpleasant effects of prohibitory duties, in the power they give to the commonest ruffian in the street of snatching from a person of any rank an article suspected to be of foreign manufacture: he pointed out their injurious effects in the promotion of smuggling, and in the breaches of the law to which they led so many

persons: he also showed, from the confession of the petitioners against the proposed regulations, that a duty of thirty per cent would be quite sufficient to protect our own manufactures: indeed, a deputation from Manchester had declared, that, under such a duty, they could meet the French in any country of the world. 'I am perfectly aware,' he observed, 'that the proposed alteration must affect particular interests; but in every change there will be partial interests that must suffer for a time; and all that parliament can do, all indeed that is its duty to do, is to deal with them as tenderly as possible. There are also persons not remiss in opposing this measure, who have created a strong feeling out of doors against it; I mean all those, who, under the prohibitory system, have benefited by smuggling: they are naturally afraid that their trade will suffer; and that if there be no prohibition, no lady will fancy a French article, when she can get an English one.'

CHAP.
LXII.

1824.

Mr. Baring, one of the enlightened advocates of free trade, being probably influenced by the prejudices of his constituents at Taunton, resisted this measure as a hazardous experiment: the French, he urged, had an advantage over us in silk, in machinery, and in cheapness of labor; yet the mode taken by the chancellor of the exchequer to oppose such advantages, was to open the English market to French silks. After dilating on these topics, he was replied to by Mr. Wallace, who contended, that the high duty on the raw material was the principal reason why we had been inferior to others in this manufacture: but we now possessed great advantages in our Indian silk; and if the trade were thrown open, we might even supply the French market with that article: the silk of India was cheaper than that of Italy; and if there were no duty on the article, and no prohibition, England would be the mart for the raw material, as well as for the manufacture: if it were true, that we had reared a considerable trade under a large duty; why should we despair of extending it, when that duty

CHAP.
LXII.

1824.

was abolished? Notwithstanding the opposition of partial interests, the scheme of ministers met with general support from both sides of the house, and was carried without difficulty. After various fluctuations, occasioned chiefly by the peculiar nature of the times; and after innumerable petitions, signed by multitudes in the various districts of the silk manufacture, predicting utter extirpation to the trade, and ruin to all engaged in it, we have the satisfaction of seeing the admirable effects resulting from a firm resistance made against ignorant and senseless clamor: the British silk trade is increased twofold since those predictions were uttered; and the articles manufactured, though lower in price, are equal in beauty, to the once coveted productions of the French or Indian loom. Among other important measures of relaxation carried by ministers, was the immediate removal of all unequal restrictions in the import and export trade of wool, with a gradual approach to the same system in the linen manufactures.

The renewal of the alien bill was resisted with unusual energy, especially by Mr. Hobhouse and Sir James Mackintosh: the act indeed was carried; but the mildness with which it was put into operation, was doubtless owing, in a great degree, to the rigid scrutiny to which it was subjected by these and other spirited individuals. The abuses of the church in Ireland, and of the court of chancery in England, led to much and vehement discussion, but to no legislative enactment.

State of
Ireland.

Much attention was given to the state of the sister island in both houses; each of which appointed a committee of inquiry into its general condition. The close of this year, however, saw the establishment of a political engine of extraordinary power, in the Catholic Association; the energies of which were subsequently wielded with so much effect by Mr. O'Connell, a barrister of eminence, who soon became the acknowledged leader of the disaffected party, and encouraged them to effect by union and agitation,

what had been denied to remonstrances and entreaties. Probably, at first, neither the government, nor the association itself, was aware of the extent to which its formidable powers could be carried : but it soon extended its correspondence, and appointed regular agents for every Roman catholic parish in the kingdom ; when, having ascertained the influence which it possessed over a great majority of the Irish people, it proceeded to levy a large revenue under the denomination of a catholic rent, and to usurp the functions both of legislative and executive authority.

CHAP.
LXII.

1824.

CHAPTER LXIII.

GEORGE IV. (CONTINUED.)—1824.

Parliamentary discussions—State of the colonies—Affairs of Spain and Portugal—Death of Louis XVIII.—East Indian affairs under lord Amherst's presidency—Case of Mr. Buckingham—Burmese war—Peace concluded on terms favorable to the British government—Commercial treaty with the court of Ava—The rajah of Bhurtpoor reinstated by lord Combermere—Arrival of lord William Bentinck as governor-general.

Parlia-
mentary
discus-
sions.

AN instance of apparent severity and injustice was brought before the commons by Mr. Brougham, which occasioned much discussion both within and without the house. During the preceding session, the agitation of measures in behalf of our negro population in the colonies was followed by some lamentable consequences, apparently resulting from the rash enthusiasm of the advocates for an immediate abolition of slavery: not aware of the difficulties with which the British government had to contend, and not content to await the influence of time and instruction in preparing the slave population to profit by an improved condition, these well-meaning, but inconsiderate persons, had pressed on parliament the consideration of a subject which could scarcely be discussed without danger; and Mr. Buxton, on the fifteenth of May, 1823, after a speech very inflammatory in its tendency, moved, that a state of slavery is repugnant to the principles of the British

constitution and the christian religion, and ought to be gradually abolished throughout the British colonies. Mr. Canning, in deprecating the agitation of this question, explained the measures in progress for bettering the condition of slaves, and obtained, for a time, the acquiescence of the house in the prudence of government: but the dreaded mischief had been done; the ignorant negroes had been led to believe that their freedom had been granted by parliament, and was withheld by the colonial assemblies; which delusion caused not only an insurrection in Demerara, but irritation, violence, and disorder throughout all the other colonies. The assemblies, it is true, rejected every recommendation for improving the condition of the slaves, and were at open war, especially in the chief island, Jamaica, with the local government; but it must at the same time be confessed, that a party of ignorant and fanatical missionaries excited the minds of the negro population so as to alarm the fears and inflame the passions of the colonists. In this state of general feeling, a missionary, named Smith, was tried by martial law on a charge of exciting the negroes to revolt in Demerara; being guilty, at least, of concealing a knowledge of their intended rising from the colonial authorities: this man was condemned to death; but, his case being sent to England for the consideration of the privy council, he died in prison before the pardon, which was extended to him, could arrive. While the colonists, however, were indignant at the remission of the sentence, and at the little anxiety shown, as they thought, by government for the safety of their lives and property, the abolition party, joined by the regular opposition in parliament, loudly denounced the court-martial held on Smith as illegal, and his sentence as unjust: Mr. Brougham's motion to this effect was supported by 146 votes; and it was with great difficulty that ministers, assisted by Mr. Canning's eloquent sophistry, could procure a small majority to acquit his judges: the plans of govern-

CHAP.
LXIII.

1824.

ment, however, for ameliorating the condition of the slaves, which generally combined benevolence with caution, strongly recommended themselves to all rational advocates of freedom: these, as stated by lord Bathurst and Mr. Canning, consisted chiefly in abolishing the habitual use of the lash, and its application to females; in regulating the punishment of refractory slaves; in preventing the separate sale of husband, wife, and children; in protecting the property of slaves, admitting their evidence, and facilitating their manumission; also in providing for them religious instruction, and a regular ecclesiastical establishment, with two bishops at its head, one presiding over Jamaica, and the other over the Leeward Islands.

State of the
colonies.

While our settlements at the Cape of Good Hope were extending themselves toward the interior of the country, and increasing in commercial prosperity, the quiet of the colony was disturbed by the unpopularity of its governor, lord Charles Somerset. Though the vexations complained of were exaggerated, and the complaints sometimes unreasonable, yet enough remained to show that his lordship was deficient in that candor and liberality of spirit, which will prevent a public officer from carrying feelings of resentment and partiality into the affairs of administration. Another part of the great African continent was at this time a scene of more tragical events; for the administrators of the small British settlements on the Gold Coast, having imprudently taken part in the quarrels of the natives, and violated the terms of a treaty concluded some years before with the powerful king of the Ashantees, were attacked by a large army of warlike and well-appointed troops under the command of that monarch. Sir Charles Macarthy, governor of Sierra Leone, having advanced against them with a few Europeans, aided by some thousands of barbarian allies, much inferior in courage and means to their antagonists, was defeated, with a dreadful carnage, especially of his British followers, and the loss of

his own life. This lamentable catastrophe excited much alarm for the safety of the principal British settlements at Cape Coast-Castle; but the Thetis frigate having opportunely arrived with a few troops, and the garrison being strengthened by a small body of auxiliaries from Acra, the enemy were repulsed, and compelled to raise the siege of the fort. Colonel Sutherland afterwards overthrew them in several other engagements; and these defeats, together with the sufferings produced by famine and disease, put an end at length to their desultory hostilities.

CHAP.
LXIII.

.1824.

Our North American colonies were now in the enjoyment of great commercial and agricultural prosperity; which, however, in the case of Lower Canada, began to be interrupted by dissensions not unlikely to be attended hereafter with important consequences. On the fourth of March, the house of assembly voted an address to the king, in which they represented very strongly, that as the members of the established church of England constituted only a minority of the population, the clergy of the church of Scotland, as well as the ministers of dissenters, had an equitable claim to participate in the revenues set apart for the religious instruction of the community: serious disputes also had arisen between the house of assembly on the one hand, and the legislative council, with the governor at its head, on the other. Part of the revenue of the province was raised under the authority of the British parliament, and appropriated to the civil expenses; while another portion of it had been appropriated by acts of the provincial parliament. The house of assembly persevered in claiming an unlimited right to dispose of the whole; in which pretension it was resisted by the governor and legislative council: the consequence was, that the supplies were refused, and the different branches of the legislature separated in very bad humor with each other. Amid the many schemes of speculation by joint-stock companies, which the apparent prosperity of the nation,

CHAP.
LXIII.

1824.

and the abundance of unemployed capital, brought out this year, was one called the Canada company, which had the approbation of the colonial department, and the sanction of a royal charter. Lands were to be granted by the crown, at a fixed price, to this association, which was to employ its funds in establishing and assisting settlers: whether the scheme might answer to the speculators or not, there seemed no reason to doubt but that the colony would benefit by the diffusion of a large capital among its inhabitants, as well as by the employment of skilful and experienced men.

From the continent of Australia the most pleasing prospects continued to be unfolded: the British settlements in New South Wales and Van Dieman's Land, prospered, because the number of free laborers increased, and the stream of emigration began to set toward that quarter: within a few years, the population had more than doubled itself; and important returning cargoes, especially of wool, began to compensate for the expenditure of the mother country; while a brisk trade was thence carried on with India and the remotest regions of the world: the chain of mountains also in the rear had been surmounted, and roads over them constructed; spacious and fertile plains, intersected with rivers, invited agriculturists; and the town of Bathurst had been made a starting point for explorers of the interior. On the Society Islands christianity was victorious; the Sandwich Isles resembled a British colony; and the New Zealanders, carrying on an increasing traffic with New South Wales, began to eat potatoes instead of human flesh. 'All these things,' says Heeren, 'are elements of a new order of things; elements of one grand, universal, political system, growing out of the narrow colonial system of Europe.'⁴

European
politics.

While the energies of Spain were chained down by absolute power, events of an extraordinary na-

⁴ vol. ii. p. 399.

ture occurred in Portugal: the constitutional government in that country had scarcely been established, before it was overturned by the troops under Don Miguel; but now that worthy scion of a degenerate stock made an attempt to dethrone his father. In May this year, the king's palace at Lisbon was surrounded by the troops in garrison; his majesty's servants were denied access to his person; and his ministers were even thrown into prison: the diplomatic body, including the pope's nunc then interfered, and procured some degree of liberty to the king; but this was thought so imperfect and insecure, that, following the advice of the French ambassador, his majesty took refuge on board a British ship of war in the Tagus; and was thus enabled to assert his dignity, and re-establish his authority. With respect to the author of these outrages on regal and parental authority, his confiding father considered him to have been misled by evil counsellors, and generously carried his youthful indiscretions to the account of involuntary faults: he was, however, recommended to visit foreign courts, in order to gain some experience of the world; and when the course of his peregrinations brought this accomplished traveller to that of Great Britain, he was loaded with honors and caresses; being received by the dominant political party in this country, as a mirror for princes, the very representative of *preux chevaliers*: after such a reception, he was dismissed to improve the Braganza breed by marrying his own niece,⁵ with the hearty benedictions of his British friends.

On the sixteenth of August, died Louis XVIII.; and his departure was evidently calculated to renew in France scenes similar to those which occurred in England after the decease of Charles II.; for the brother of Louis was as great a bigot in religion as

⁵ Donna Maria da Gloria, however, escaped this distinguished honor of marrying her uncle; and, like our own lamented princess Charlotte, has shown a will of her own in these matters.

CHAP.
LXIII.

1824:

the brother of Charles; and the bigotry of both impelled them to acts of the most tyrannical complexion. The greatest obstacle, during the late reign, to the complete establishment of the French constitution, lay in the existence of what was termed the occult government, organised and directed by the presumptive heir to the throne, and his partisans: there was scarcely a town or village in France, to which the ramifications of this confederacy did not extend, or where it had not its secret committee; from among the members of which it forced government to choose the agents of authority. All men of good sentiments, as they were termed, that is, all who were slavish in politics and superstitious in religion, belonged to this class; of which, while many were sincere, more were hypocrites, who assumed a mask, in order to gratify their ambition and cupidity. The existence of such a faction, and the protection it enjoyed, exposed the good faith of the late king to suspicion, whilst it terrified the friends of the charter, and exasperated the fierce democratical party, which was far from being extinguished in France: it soon drove his successor from the throne.

East Indian
affairs
under
lord Am-
herst.

The serious war which broke out this year in the east, between the company and the Burmese sovereign naturally recalls us to a consideration of Indian affairs since the retirement of the marquis of Hastings. The governor appointed to succeed that wise and patriotic statesman was lord Amherst, who, being chiefly known as an unsuccessful ambassador to the court of Peking, had to encounter all the evils of invidious and disadvantageous comparison. At the period of lord Hastings's departure in the beginning of 1823, our Indian territories were in a state of profound peace; and until his successor should arrive, Mr. Adam, senior member of the council, assumed the reins of government. During the short period of this gentleman's administration, the case of Mr. Buckingham occurred, which has so often brought the question of a free press in India

before the British public. That gentleman had been established some years at Calcutta, where he set up a newspaper, which obtained very extensive circulation; but this was expressly contrary to the regulations of the British government in India: during the administration of lord Cornwallis, a Mr. Hickey had attempted to publish unrestrained opinions on matters of government; and his journal had been suppressed by the noble marquis: he complained bitterly of what he considered a wanton act of tyranny; and was advised by the governor, if he thought himself aggrieved, to seek his remedy in a court of law: but as he could prove no malice or illegal exercise of authority, he well knew that he would obtain no redress, and therefore abstained from the attempt. After that period, articles were occasionally published, more perhaps from inadvertency than design, which called for censure; and some cases of this nature led to an order of lord Wellesley, that the proof sheets of newspapers should be submitted to the inspection of the secretary of government; a measure, which had the decided approbation of that eminent statesman, Sir John Malcolm: in allusion to it, he observed,—‘that so far as European society alone was concerned, he could not say that the existence of a free press would immediately endanger the safety of our Indian empire: he was satisfied, however, that it would excite dissensions, cherish insubordination, and produce evils a hundred times greater than any good it could effect: but its operation on the European part of the community was a very small part of this question.’⁶ Accordingly, he proceeded to point out its injurious effects among a rapidly increasing portion of the population termed half-caste, sons of European fathers and native mothers, existing in an infant state of society, for the advancement of which no hopes can be entertained except through the

CHAP.
LXIII.

1823-28.

⁶ Speech at a general court of proprietors, July 9, 1824.

CHAP.
LXIII.

1823-28.

adoption of gradual measures for their instruction : but these, in his opinion, would be frustrated by the establishment of a free press, irritating that impatience and discontent which they still feel at their condition, though much has been already done to improve it : both these classes, however, as he observed, sink into comparative insignificance, when we contemplate the effects of a free press on a native population of 80,000,000. That population is separated into two great divisions, Mahometans and Hindoos : the higher ranks of the former, who, before us, were masters of almost all India, naturally remain discontented with our power : yet they bear but a small proportion to the latter, who possess this striking feature in their condition ; that all their religious and civil classes are not only educated, but as prompt and skilful in intrigue as in business. From their intellectual superiority, they have always influenced and directed their more numerous and ignorant countrymen ; but these instructed classes, especially the Brahmins, who have already lost consideration, wealth, and power, by our assumption of the government, fear, and justly fear, lest their degradation should be progressive : they are, at the same time, great adepts in spreading discontent, and exciting sedition or rebellion, by awakening the fears, alarming the superstition, or rousing the pride of those whom they address ; and whenever the time appears favorable, they foster and keep up a spirit of hostility against us, by means of circular letters and proclamations dispersed with incredible celerity over the country, portraying the English as usurpers, of a low caste ; as tyrants, who have sought India with the sole view of robbing the natives, while they subvert their usages and destroy their religion : in particular, they appeal to the native troops, earnestly exhorting them, on various occasions, to rise and murder their tyrants. Can it then be supposed that their aversion and hostility to our sway would be abated by the representations of

an unlicensed press? Would it be wise or politic to put such means into the hands of those who would use it for our destruction?

CHAP.
LXIII.

1823-28.

Unmoved, however, by any such views as these, Mr. Buckingham followed up a long course of aggression by hazarding some severe strictures on the measures of government, particularly in its transactions with the kingdom of Oude; and though he was aware of Mr. Adam's sentiments, and knew his resolution, he chose to try his strength with a new governor; supposing that he would be averse to interfere in a case where he was, or might be thought to be, personally interested. 'But,' observes Sir J. Malcolm, 'he showed little discernment in his appreciation of the character of him with whom he had to deal; a man, whom no personal consideration could induce to evade a public duty. Mr. Adam, vested with the highest authority in India, was forced by this conduct to appear in contest with Mr. Buckingham, the self-created champion of British liberty; while not only the English community, but the natives, were anxiously looking at their trial of strength. Was the issue of such a contest to be left doubtful for a moment?' Mr. Adam then, being determined to check the evil by a signal punishment, interdicted this great offender from pursuing his avocations, and sent him back to England. The transmission of Mr. Buckingham was followed by strict regulations of the press; and as lord Amherst, when he arrived at the seat of government, was determined to pursue rigorously the policy commenced by Mr. Adam, a breach of those regulations was met by the transmission also of Mr. Arnot, who had been left by Mr. Buckingham to conduct the business of his journal. A subsequent instance of disrespect to authority was punished by a withdrawal of its license from the Calcutta Journal; and for some time after this period, the public press manifested a spirit of decorum, with which no great fault could be found: an occasional letter from the chief secretary, pointing

CHAP.
LXIII.

1823-28.

out the danger of a contrary line of conduct, restrained the editors who had diverged into it, from proceeding too far.

The increasing liberality, however, of the times induced the court of proprietors at home to relax the rigorous observance of this system: a compensation was given to Mr. Arnot; and the Indian government saw those, whom in the strict observance of duty it had felt obliged to punish, patronised and rewarded: acts which it had adopted from the best motives were annulled in the most peremptory manner; and every thing began to indicate a wish on the part of the honorable court to comply with popular clamor, and allow the discussion of public affairs through the press to be as free in India as in England: this led to regulations, the consequences of which are very problematical: but the administration of lord Amherst was distinguished by events more generally interesting, though perhaps in the end not more important. The principal of these was the Burmese war, the causes and origin of which first demand our notice.

Origin of
the Bur-
mese war.

The fierce and warlike nature of the Burmans had constantly urged them on to conquests; and the atrocious cruelties which they were accustomed to exercise throughout the provinces subdued by their arms, induced the natives to take refuge, in great numbers, within the British territories. 'So early,' says Sir John Malcolm, 'as in the government of lord Teignmouth, a Burmese general advanced into the province of Chittagong in pursuit of three criminals, and a force was sent to repel this violation of territory; but hostilities were prevented by his waiting on the English officer who commanded it, explaining his instructions, and pleading his motives: on his retiring, the criminals were made over to him; when two were put to death by the most cruel tortures, and the other again effected his escape. Subsequently to this occurrence, a tribe, called Mughs, in the province of Arracan, exasperated by intolerable oppression, passed over to our territories

in such crowds as to cause alarm ; and orders were sent to prohibit others from crossing the frontier : these commands, however, were but partially enforced ; and when the miserable fugitives themselves were directed to withdraw, the reply of their leader was ;—‘ We will not return to the Arracan country : if you choose to slaughter us here, we are ready to die ; and if by force you drive us away, we will go and dwell in the jungles of the great mountains, which afford shelter to the wild beasts.’

CHAP.
LXIII.

1823-28.

About the close of 1798, no less a number than 10,000 of the Mughls rushed over the frontiers in a state of extreme agony and distress ; and this swarm was followed by another, still larger ; so that policy became enlisted on the side of humanity, in granting them at least a temporary asylum ; and it was resolved to settle them on some extensive tracts of waste land in the province of Chittagong : besides, as great numbers were perishing by famine, government supplied them with food, as well as with materials for constructing huts, under the direction of captain Cox, who had been previously employed in a mission to the court of Ava. The Burmese authorities soon despatched an army of about 4000 men after these emigrants, which followed them into Chittagong ; and, fortifying itself in the woods by means of a stockade, carried on for several weeks a petty warfare with our troops. To their threatening demands, however, that the runaways should be delivered up, it was replied, that no negotiation could be listened to, before the Burmese troops should retire from our borders : after this, they repelled an attack of sepoys, but subsequently retreated within their own dominions ; and lieutenant Hill was then sent to the governor of Arracan, for the purpose of attempting an amicable adjustment. At this period, captain Cox arrived, and found the strangers perishing in vast numbers ; as many as twenty children dying daily : with a desire therefore of terminating such calamities, he recommended our government to settle them on a desert tract between

CHAP.
LXIII.

1823-28.

the Ramoo river and the Naaf, where they might become a useful and industrious colony, instead of being dispersed, and impelled to lead a vagabond life: this plan was followed; and the principal settlement was named, after the projector, Cox's Bazaar. The Burmese monarch now despatched an embassy to lord Wellesley; who dismissed the envoy with explanations and satisfactory assurances of the friendly disposition of the British government; declaring, that the governor-general was ready at all times to deliver up acknowledged criminals, and to permit every one who desired it to return to his own country: at the same time, a proclamation was issued, forbidding any future immigrations into our territory.

In 1800, however, the viceroy of Arracan peremptorily demanded the unconditional surrender of the Mughls, with menaces of invasion if refused. The governor-general would have felt himself justified in resorting to arms on the occasion of this insult; but imagining that the Arracan chief might have acted without authority, he deputed lieutenant-colonel Symes to the court of Ava, in 1802, to obtain correct information; while he sent a respectable force under lieutenant-colonel Fenwick to protect the frontier of Chittagong. Colonel Symes, on his arrival, received a general assurance of friendly sentiments from the Burmese government; and the question of the emigrants was not stirred for several years: but when captain Canning was at Ava, in 1809, he discovered that the king had long entertained a design of conquering the provinces of Chittagong and Dacca.

In the year 1811 we began to experience evil consequences from the establishment of the Mugh colony on the borders of their native country; by which means a restless desire of recovering their ancient rights and homes was kept alive in the hearts of that people. Some bold adventurers among them, under a daring chief, called Kingberring, commenced predatory attacks on the country of Arracan, which

caused the Burmese troops to enter our territories, and gave rise to much complaint and recrimination. In 1813, a mission was sent to Calcutta from the viceroy of Pegu, professedly for the purpose of purchasing some of the sacred works of the Hindoos; but its chief, instead of buying books, spent his time in secret intrigues, hostile to the British government: another officer belonging to the Burmese sovereign solicited permission to visit Delhi, under a similar pretext; but it being discovered that his real object was to raise a conspiracy among the native powers for the expulsion of the English, he was not allowed to proceed. In 1813, extensive rumors were afloat respecting active preparations for invasion; and in September, lord Minto, by a menacing proclamation, endeavored to restrain the incursions of Kingberring and his desperate followers. Deputies, who had been sent from Pegu, to procure the surrender of the Mugh insurgents, delayed their departure till lord Hastings arrived, to whom they renewed their application, but without success: nor could they understand our motives, or believe that the cause of humanity made us hesitate to deliver up offenders to the tortures that were prepared for them: lord Hastings, however, though he refused to give up some insurgent chiefs, whom he had taken and imprisoned, endeavored by other acts to convince the Burmese government of our anxiety to suppress every species of depredation on the Arracan territory; and whenever freebooters fled for refuge to the forests, the Burmese were permitted to pursue them: but this did not satisfy the rajah of Arracan, who even went so far as to imprison an agent sent to him by Mr. Pechell, the chief magistrate at Chittagong. In the beginning of 1815, Kingberring died; and it was hoped that this event might aid our efforts in repressing the excesses of his countrymen: but as these failed, a letter was sent in April, 1816, from the rajah of Ramere, governor of the Burmese frontier provinces, peremptorily demanding the surrender of all the Mugh emigrants, with threats of immediate

CHAP.
LXIII.

1823-28.

hostilities in case of refusal : the letter was brought by the rajah's son, who haughtily declared that he must have 'an answer, not arguments.' Mr. Pechell, having transmitted this document to Calcutta, was ordered to reply in a conciliatory but firm tone ; and to discover, if possible, the object of the court of Ava, in reviving this question concerning the Mughls : the governor-general, at the same time, addressed a letter to the viceroy of Pegu, observing, that the British government could not, without violating the principles of justice, deliver up a multitude which had sought its protection, some of whom had resided thirty years within our borders ; but that no prohibition existed against the voluntary return of that people to their country. The viceroy was assured, that the death of Kingberring, the captivity of his principal associates, and the return of the Mughls to the peaceful pursuits of industry, rendered a renewal of disturbances very improbable ; but that even increased vigilance should be used on our part to restrain them. 'The enlightened mind,' it was said, 'of his Burmese majesty would perceive the inutility of agitating a question, the farther discussion of which could lead to no results advantageous to either state.'

Soon afterwards, when Charipo, a notorious offender, had committed a daring robbery in the Burmese dominions, Mr. Pechell recommended that he should be given up, together with some of his most guilty associates, as the only method of deterring others from similar depredations : nevertheless, it was determined in council, that this could not be suffered ; though a judge of circuit was sent to aid Mr. Pechell in trying the offenders ; and his official opinion was, that the utmost punishment that could be inflicted on their ringleader, was an imprisonment of fourteen years.

The authorities in England had not been indifferent to these transactions, but had expressed a hearty approbation of the conduct of their officers. In a letter to the supreme government, from the court of

directors, dated January 6, 1815, the following passage occurred:—‘We earnestly hope that you have not been driven to the necessity of delivering up Kingberring; because we observe that every Mugh who is suspected of being his partisan is put to death; and that a whole village, containing about 2500 souls, was massacred on this account, when neither men, women, nor children were spared. If, for the sake of avoiding hostilities with the king of Ava, you have been compelled to adopt such a measure, we trust that Kingberring has been the sole person given up, and that none of his infatuated followers were included in the surrender.’ Also, in another letter of the nineteenth of May, it was said;—‘It pleases us to observe, that the magistrate was cautioned to avoid language that might be interpreted into a promise on the part of our government to deliver up the principal insurgents to the Burmese.’ Subsequent communications, however, evincing the incorrigible conduct of the Mughs, and the serious results to which their aggressions might lead, effected a change in the sentiments of the court.

CHAP.
LXIII.

1823-28.

In 1818, the son of the rajah of Ramere arrived on a second mission at Chittagong, and expressed an anxious desire of proceeding to Calcutta with a letter to the governor-general, which his father had written under the express orders of the Burmese king, and of which he gave Mr. Pechell an authenticated copy. The sum of its contents may be thus stated:—‘The countries of Chittagong and Dacca, Moorshedabad and Cassimbazar, do not belong to India: those countries are ours: the British government is faithless: this was not formerly the case. It is not your right to receive the revenues of those countries: it is proper that you should pay them to us: if you do not, we will destroy your country.’

The rajah of Ramere had in all probability counselled his Burmese majesty to wage war with the British government, and that monarch thought the present period favorable to his views: it was also known that he held secret correspondence with the

CHAP.
LXIII.

1823-28.

Mahrattas, and was prepared to assist them and the Pindarries by invading the frontier of Bengal: but before the mission could reach its destination, lord Hastings had triumphed over those predatory hordes; and the Burmese troops had sustained serious reverses in a conflict with the people of Siam. The course therefore adopted by his lordship, was to treat this communication as a gross forgery, and to send back the letter as a document fabricated in the august name of 'the king of all the elephants:' thus he escaped the necessity of noticing an insolent menace, to the great satisfaction of the Burmese sovereign himself.

Nothing was done to irritate the court of Ava during the administration of lord Hastings; nor did any serious incursions of the Mugh emigrants take place after the death of Kingberring; yet the tone of communications made by the Burmese government and officers became more and more insolent; while the evident desire on our part to avoid a rupture seemed only to provoke them to hostilities. This feeling on their part arose from a gross miscalculation of our resources as well as their own; and it is impossible to read the official details of the correspondence, without a conviction, that the crisis which afterwards occurred, could not, under any circumstances, have been much longer deferred.

In June, 1819, Minderajee-praw, the Burmese monarch, terminated a long and prosperous reign of thirty-seven years; and the state paper, announcing his death, declared, 'that the immortal king had gone up to amuse himself in the celestial regions.' He was succeeded by his grandson; who, having been solemnly crowned on the second of November at Ava, proceeded immediately to reduce under subjection the province of Cassay; by which conquest the Burmese frontiers were pushed forward to the eastern boundary of Bengal, Dinapore, the Sylhet hills, and ridges of Cachar: nor was it long before this close contact with our Indian empire led to fresh disputes. In 1822, a large body of the perse-

cuted people of Assam emigrated into the British territory ; and, as in the case of the Arracanese, were pursued by a formidable force, sent to reclaim them : but the assurance, that these refugees should be strictly kept from exercising any act of hostility, satisfied the Burmese commander for the present ; while the attention of the monarch was wholly occupied with the reduction of Siam, the favorite object of his predecessors on the throne. In order to effect the final overthrow of that state, an effort was made to obtain the concurrence of the king of Cochin China ; but whatever may have been the plans of attack, the relative frontiers remained unaltered, when the eventful contest broke out between the British government and the Burmese empire.⁷ After various petty acts of animosity, a body of the enemy, in September, 1823, took forcible possession of the island of Shapuree ; but the invaders were quickly expelled, and an explanation was demanded : their next act of hostility was the advance of 2000 men, for the purpose of restoring the deposed rajah of Cachar, who had sought refuge within the Burmese dominions : Ghumbur Sing, his successor, was supported by the British ; and the country had been for some time under our protection. These acts, therefore, together with the contemptuous silence preserved by the court of Ava to every remonstrance on the subject, were the ostensible causes of the war ; and early in this year, (1824) orders were given for equipping a force of 5000 or 6000 men, at the presidencies of Fort William and St. George, under the respective orders of brigadier-general M'Creagh, and brigadier-general Macbean : the two divisions were directed to assemble at Port Cornwallis, in the Great

CHAP.
LXIII.

1823-28.

Com-
mencement
of hostili-
ties with
the Bur-
mese.

⁷ The extent of this empire is reckoned by Malte Brun to be about 1050 geographical miles in length, and 600 in breadth, containing probably 194,000 square miles. The population, the numbers of which are variously and vaguely estimated, consists of,—1. The proper Burmans of the Irrawaddy ; 2. The Talain or Peguans ; 3. The Siamese of the conquered provinces ; 4. The Kiayn of the western mountains ; 5. The Arracanese of the coast ; 6. The Karayn, a tribe of cultivators ; 7. The Cassayers, or Kathee people ; beside several tribes in the mountains and on the frontiers.

CHAP.
LXIII.

1823-28.

Andaman island; whence the combined forces, under the command of major-general Sir Archibald Campbell, were to proceed to attack Rangoon, the principal sea-port in the Burmese territories. The naval force attached to this expedition, consisted of the *Liffey*, of fifty guns, commodore Grant; *Slaney*, twenty, captain C. Mitchell; *Larne*, twenty, captain F. Marryat; and *Sophie*, eighteen, captain G. F. Ryves; four of the honorable company's cruisers, under captain H. Hardy, with various brigs, schooners, and other small craft, manned by Lascars; twenty row-boats, each carrying an eighteen-pounder at the bow, under the command of Mr. W. Lindquist, of the Bengal pilot service; and the *Diana* steam vessel, the first ever seen in India, which had been purchased by the supreme government at the particular request of captain Marryat. The total number of fighting men embarked at Calcutta and Madras was 8071; 4077 being British troops. On the fifth of May this expedition put to sea; when a part of the force was detached under general M'Creagh against the island of Cheduba, and another under major Wahab against Negrais: the rest of the fleet, on the eleventh of May, led by the *Liffey* and *Larne*, sailed up the Rangoon river, without any pilots on board; and, in the course of a few hours, anchored off the town. As the place was utterly unprepared for resistance, the governor, after a cannonade from the principal battery, which was quickly silenced by the *Liffey*, directed the whole mass of inhabitants to be driven into the inmost recesses of the jungle, regardless of the inevitable misery attendant on so barbarous a measure: the wretched mud houses of the city were abandoned to the invaders, while every thing that could serve for provision was removed far beyond their reach; and the few British merchants and American missionaries resident at the place, who had been placed in strict confinement, and threatened with death, were marched in fetters a few miles into the country, and

lodged near the great pagoda;^a but these were soon delivered by the advanced guard of the British army. The greatest distress was experienced by our troops from this system, constantly pursued, of driving away the inhabitants, and leaving the whole country destitute of provisions.

CHAP.
LXIII.

1823-28.

The army came unprovided with sufficient equipment for advancing by land or by water; for it was imagined that the capture of Rangoon, or at least of that and the enemy's other maritime possessions, would induce the king to accept the moderate demands of our government; or, at all events, that the country would afford sufficient water transport to enable a considerable corps to proceed up the Irrawaddy; especially as the co-operation of the people of Pegu, a conquered tribe governed by despotic and mercenary chiefs, was confidently relied on: but it soon appeared that we had been deceived by erroneous accounts; that we had to expect decided hostility from both Burmese and Peguans; that the boatmen of the great river, being in a peculiar manner devoted to their monarch, had removed every vessel that could be serviceable, while we had brought very few in our train. Such were the situation and prospects of our army at the commencement of the rainy season; the longest that is experienced in any part of India, and during which no troops can remain in the field twenty-four hours together: it was also kept in constant alarm by nightly irruptions of the enemy into its lines; without any means of transporting a single gun, and without a hope of inducing the wretched inhabitants, who had been driven into the jungles, to return into the town. The chief command, however, had been given to an officer of great ability and zeal, who was ably seconded both in the military and naval department:

^a This magnificent building, called the Shoedagon, stands at the summit of an abrupt eminence, about two miles and a half from Rangoon. The conical hill itself is seventy-five feet above the road: the area on its top is upwards of two acres, in the centre of which space the pagoda is erected; in shape resembling an inverted speaking trumpet, 338 feet in height, surmounted by a cap made of brass, forty-five feet high: the whole being richly gilt.—See Snodgrass's History of the Burmese War, p. 15.

CHAP.
LXIII.

1823-28:

in such a case, what are the obstacles, which a British army will not surmount?

The court of Ava had been for many months preparing, not only for a rupture with our government, but even for offensive operations: the invasion, however, of its own territories, especially of the distant coasts of Pegu and Tenasserim, was overlooked in its warlike plans; and when his Burmese majesty was told that such a thing was likely to occur, he replied, in the true Eastern style;—‘As to Rangoon, I will take such measures, as shall prevent the English from even disturbing the women cooking their rice.’⁹ As soon, therefore, as our actual disembarkation became known, no time was lost in making vigorous preparations for our expulsion; every village and town within 300 miles of the seat of war being obliged to send its complement of armed men, under their respective chiefs; while the Irrawaddy was covered with fleets of warriors from all the towns on its banks, proceeding to the general rendezvous of the grand army.

The first conflict took place on the sixteenth of May; when captain R. Birch, with the grenadier company of his majesty’s thirty-eighth regiment, embarked on board the Liffey’s boats, commanded by lieutenant James Wilkinson, for the purpose of dislodging the enemy from the village of Kemmendine, a war-boat station three miles above Rangoon; and although the impenetrable jungle and other obstacles prevented the complete success of this little band, yet they gallantly stormed several strong stockades, one of which was defended by 400 men, who were quickly driven out at the point of the bayonet, leaving behind them sixty dead. ‘The enemy,’ says captain Richards, ‘were well armed, a great proportion having muskets; and a small field piece was taken in the stockade. I must do them the justice to say, that they fought with great spirit; many of them receiving our charge bravely on their spears.’ In this contest, lieutenant T. Kerr

⁹ Snodgrass, p. 25.

and one private were killed, and nine wounded; while lieutenant Wilkinson, R.N., received a ball through his thigh, and eight or nine of his crew were wounded. On the thirty-first, captain Marryat succeeded to the chief command of the naval force, as commodore Grant retired, on account of ill health, to Palo Penang, where he died in July following.

CHAP.
LXIII.

1823-28.

Toward the end of May, the enemy had become more daring, as their numbers increased; and gradually approaching the British position, began to throw up stockades¹⁰ in the jungle, within hearing of our advanced posts: in the formation and defence of this kind of fortification the Burmese are instructed and trained from early youth; and they display in it so much skill and judgment, that for many years their wars have been a regular series of conquests.

Their approaches met with every possible encouragement from the British commander; who, being unable to attempt any distant operation, was anxious to come into close contact with his antagonists. On the morning of the twenty-eighth, an advanced corps being stockaded within little more than musket-shot distance from our piquets, Sir Archibald Campbell, taking four companies of Europeans, and 400 native infantry, with two field pieces, moved out to reconnoitre: his advance-guard soon came on the first stockade thrown across the path; but the work being incomplete, its defenders retired, after exchanging a few shots. The column, continuing its march, found at every turn of the road breastworks and half-finished stockades, hastily abandoned; since this early visit was not anticipated: a progress of about five miles brought our troops to a narrow wooden bridge over a morass, where the enemy was beginning to form: this had just been forced by

¹⁰ Strong enclosures formed of the trunks of trees, mounted with cannon, and pierced for musketry: in the interior they often dig holes, into which the defenders retire; so that a work full of men appears to be deserted.

CHAP.
LXIII.

1823-28.

the fire of the artillery, when one of those tremendous storms, which usher in the south-west monsoon, came on; and as the field pieces could be dragged no farther, the general left them in charge of the native infantry, and advanced, with his European troops, through the tempest. The enemy soon appeared in large bodies; and their generals, on horseback, were seen forming their men to defend a gorge in front; while this small body of Europeans continued to advance, by *échelon* of companies, against a force of 4000 or 5000 men: our left flank, which moved close to the jungle, found some villages defended in front by two stockades, whence proceeded shouts of defiance from men confident in themselves and in the strength of their position. They at once commenced a heavy fire on our leading companies; and these, unable to return it, owing to the wet state of their muskets, instantly resolved to close with their opponents; the right company being directed to keep its line firm on the plain, while the other three rushed impetuously on the works: those, being of a low description, not exceeding eight feet in height, were soon forced; and the very numbers of the enemy, by creating disorder, increased their destruction. The conflict was fierce and sanguinary: each stockade having only one or two narrow ways of egress, its defenders, when driven from the ramparts, soon became an unmanageable mass; and being rendered desperate by repeated volleys, they, with spear or musket couched, and heads lowered to a butting position, blindly charged on the bayonets; for until they had been taught by severe retaliation to treat with mercy those whom the fortune of war threw into their power, the Burmese neither gave nor expected quarter, continuing to fight with the utmost fury long after all hope of success or escape had vanished: nor did it remain optional with our men to spare the lives of an enemy, from whose barbarous and

treacherous mode of warfare death alone afforded safety. The experiment was often tried, but tried in vain: humanity might prompt a British soldier to pass a fallen or a vanquished foe; but when he found his forbearance rewarded by a shot, or the spear's point, as soon as his back was turned, self-preservation taught him the necessity of more decisive measures.

During the attack on these two stockades, the Burmese general in the plain made no movement for their defence, probably supposing that we had a larger force intentionally kept out of sight; but as soon as our troops were seen in possession of the works, the whole line, with a horrid yell, began to advance toward them, until checked by the company which had been left, and by the appearance of the troops which had carried the works moving forward to receive these new opponents: our killed and wounded were then carried from the field, and the little band marched back unmolested to their quarters. After this action, an attempt at negotiation, or rather at deception, was tried by the enemy, while they were occupied in erecting fortifications. A large body had taken post at Kemmendine, the station for war-boats, three miles up the river, with elevated ground and forests in its rear: this also was attacked by our troops, assisted by the naval force; and several strong stockades were carried with great gallantry: some days of quiet then ensued; but all the towns and villages continued to be deserted: the herds were swept from the plains, and the boats from the rivers, whilst every man beyond our posts was in arms against us. Before the end of June, the enemy recovered from their panic; and, having received large reinforcements, advanced again under Sykia Wongee, third minister of state; when the jungles seemed to be animated by living masses; and their noisy preparations formed a remarkable contrast with the stillness and quiet of the British lines: our force, much diminished through sickness

CHAP.
LXIII.

1823-28.

and death, was recruited by the eighty-ninth British regiment from Madras, and the junction of the detachments that had been sent to the capture of Cheduba and Negrais; which places soon fell into our hands.

In the beginning of July, a battle took place round the great pagoda, to the disadvantage of the Burmese, and Sykia Wongee was recalled in disgrace; but his successor, Soomba Wongee, the second minister, though he fought with determined bravery, and placed his troops in the strongest possible stockades, lost his life, as well as 800 men in the fortifications; while the jungles and villages around were filled with unhappy wretches left there to perish. Soon afterwards, the rains were at their height, and the adjacent lands almost wholly under water: in the mean time, an expedition was sent to the eastward, under colonel Miles; when Tavoy surrendered, Mergui was taken by storm, and the whole coast of Tenasserim gladly accepted British protection.

To inspire confidence in the people after their recent defeats, and to keep the officers strictly to their duty, the princes of Tonghoo and Irrawaddy, brothers of the king, were ordered down from Ava, for the purpose of superintending operations: the first of these established his head quarters at Pegu; the latter at Donoobew, on the river, about sixty miles from Rangoon; where fortifications had been thrown up with great care, to form a post of reserve, and a dépôt for the army. The princes came, accompanied by numerous astrologers, as well as by a corps called the king's invulnerables, men curiously tattooed, and accustomed to exhibit the war dance of defiance, and expose themselves to the hottest fire of an enemy, that they might inspire courage and confidence in the rest. A few skirmishes took place occasionally; but several weeks elapsed before the astrologers could mark out a propitious day for attacking our position: at length, the night of the thirtieth of August was fixed on, when the invulne-

rables promised to assault and carry the great pagoda, that the princes and grandees might celebrate the grand annual festival in that sacred place. Accordingly, on the night in question, they advanced in a compact body, armed with swords and muskets, uttering clamorous imprecations against the impious strangers; being guided by a few glimmering lanterns, toward the northern gateway: at length, the darkness was broken by vivid flashes from our guns; showers of grape-shot, and successive volleys of musketry, fell among the invulnerables, making such havoc in their dense masses, that no longer endeavoring to support their character, they fled from the scene of action, and sought safety in the neighboring jungle.

CHAP.
LXIII.

1823-28.

The time was now arrived, when the defeats and disasters of the Burmese army could be no longer concealed, and when it was necessary to repair the loss of honor which it had sustained. In this emergency, his majesty had recourse to the most celebrated of all his generals; one to whom the empire was indebted for some of its most valuable acquisitions, and who had proceeded, before our expedition reached Rangoon, to take the command of the Arracan army, destined for the invasion of Bengal; nor had he neglected to provide golden fetters, in which the governor-general of India might be led captive to Ava. This officer, called Maha Bandoola, on his arrival in Arracan, lost no time in commencing offensive operations; and, having pushed his forces as far as Ramoo, surrounded a detachment, consisting of five companies of the twenty-third native infantry, three of the thirtieth, and some provincials, with the Mugh levy, and artillery; when he overwhelmed and routed the whole force. The highest alarm was excited in Bengal by this victory; the peasants fled in dismay from the villages; and the native merchants of Calcutta were with difficulty persuaded to remain with their families and property under the protection of Fort William: the enemy, however, did not advance beyond Ramoo;

CHAP.
LXIII.

1823-28.

but employed themselves in erecting stockades, which Bandoola intended as the basis of his future operations, at the return of the cool season. The defeats, however, of the Burmese army in the vicinity of Rangoon, and the reduction of Martaban, Mergui, and Tenasserim, induced his sovereign to recall him for the defence of the golden empire: thus the inhabitants of Bengal were relieved from their anxiety; the war was transferred to the central provinces of Burmah; and the important struggle took place on the banks of the mighty Irrawaddy.

Soon after the retreat of Bandoola, the state of British India became alarming from another source. The company's native troops had generally imbibed a superstitious terror of the Burmese; and several regiments, stationed at Barrackpore, covering their aversion for the service under various pretexts of grievances, refused to march, and broke out into open mutiny: it was, however, subdued by the promptitude of Sir Edward Paget, who placed himself at the head of two British regiments and a company of artillery; with which, after some fruitless endeavors to recall the mutineers to their duty, he attacked and dispersed them, when drawn up in line, under a declared resolution of opposing force to force. Considerable numbers of these misguided men fell by the discharges of artillery; but of those taken, twelve only were executed; the sentence of the rest being commuted for hard labor in irons during fourteen years: nothing less than such a sacrifice could have averted the danger of an example, which threatened to shake our Indian empire to its foundation.

The arrival of Maha Bandoola at Ava, where the highest honors and chief military command were conferred on him, was speedily communicated to the crest-fallen levies in front of the British station, where his name not only restored confidence, but acted as a spell to draw the reluctant people round his banners: in the mean time, whilst a large fleet of war-boats, with a train of artillery, was preparing

to fall down the river, and orders were issued for the various detachments to join Bandoola on his progress, the endemic fever of the rainy season, and a severe dysentery were thinning the British ranks, and filling their hospitals: in this situation, it was happily determined to move the sufferers to Mergui and Tavoy, where the salubrity of the climate effected wonders. 'Men,' says major Snodgrass, 'who had for months remained in a most debilitated state at Rangoon, rapidly recovered on arriving at Mergui, and were soon restored in full health and vigor to their duty.' Negotiations were now entered into with the Siamese government: but though feuds and enmity had ever existed between them and the Burmese state; yet the Siamese had suffered too much from their foes, and were too strongly convinced of the impossibility of our success over the dreaded Burmans, to join us in active hostilities.

On the eleventh of September, the *Arachne* was reported off the bar: captain Marryat, with only twenty-seven of his original ship's company on board, was then dropping down from Rangoon; but he deferred quitting the river for two days, in order to give captain Chads every information in his power. The important command held by captain Marryat under such peculiar circumstances had been most creditable to that officer, who did not give over his charge to captain Ryves, until the enemy had been so decidedly repulsed, that Sir Archibald Campbell officially stated his conviction, that two sloops, the *Sophie* and *Satellite*, were sufficient for the protection of the shipping: he was promoted into the *Tees*, by captain T. Coe, when that officer, who had lately arrived, assumed the command of the *Liffey*; and captain Chads was now invested with the chief command of the naval force attached to the expedition.

In the early part of November, the rains having ceased, the health of our army became re-established; the cool season had set in; and a forward movement was anticipated with joy by the troops; but before

CHAP.
LXIII.

1823-28.

CHAP.
LXIII.

1823-28.

this could take place, the whole military force of Ava, now advancing on Rangoon, was to be disposed of: seasonable reinforcements, however, were sent from Calcutta; and a regiment of cavalry, a troop of horse-artillery, and a rocket corps were ordered to join. The Burmese army, the largest and best-equipped that had ever been sent into the field by the court of Ava, consisted of 35,000 musketeers, great numbers of whom were armed with jingals, a small but annoying piece, carrying a ball from six to twelve ounces in weight, and mounted on a carriage, which two men could easily move about: the Cassay horse amounted to 700; and a considerable body of men were attached to the guns; the rest of the force, making a sum total of 60,000 men, being armed with short swords and long spears, which the great physical strength of the Burmese renders very formidable weapons: but the army would not have been thought complete without the addition of corps of invulnerables; who, being amply provided with charms, spells, and opium, afforded in the ensuing operations great amusement to our soldiers, by their dances of defiance, committing all sorts of extravagances, with the most prodigal exposure of their lives.¹¹

At length, this congregated force assembled, on the thirtieth of November, in the extensive forest of Rangoon, fronting the great Shoedagon pagoda; and its line, extending from the river above Kemmendine in a semicircular direction toward Puzendown, was to be discerned by volumes of smoke arising from the different bivouacs. During the following night, the low hum of voices, proceeding from the encampment, suddenly ceased, and was succeeded by the distant but gradually increasing sounds of a multitude in slow and stealthy movement through the woods: the British commanders soon became aware that the enemy's masses had approached to the very edge of the jungle, within musket-shot of the pagoda,

¹¹ Snodgrass, p. 96.

ready to rush from their cover at break of day. In the morning a great number of war boats had been seen by the Teignmouth coming down the river; and in the evening, they came forward with fire-rafts; which induced captain Goodridge to slip and pass the point in order to avoid them: this left the post open to a furious attack by land and water; but it was nobly defended by the garrison under major Yates, consisting of the twenty-sixth Madras native infantry, and a mere handful of Europeans, supported on the river by a small naval force.

CHAP.
LXIII.

1823-28.

The morning of the first of December had scarcely dawned, when hostilities commenced with a heavy fire of musketry and cannon at Kemmendine, where the Teignmouth was again unfortunately driven from her station by fire-rafts; and our troops, at the great pagoda, could distinctly hear the yells and shouts of the infuriated assailants, occasionally returned by hearty cheers from the British seamen, as they poured their heavy broadsides into the resolute and persevering masses: when the firing ceased, and the thick canopy of smoke dispersed, the masts of our vessels were still seen at their old station off the fort. In the course of the forenoon, Burmese columns appeared on the west side of the river, marching in five or six divisions, under numerous chiefs, whose gilt *chattahs*, or umbrellas, glittered in the sun; and when they reached the bank of the river opposite Rangoon, they commenced stockades and batteries for the destruction of our shipping: later in the day, several heavy columns were seen issuing out of the forest, with flags and banners, about a mile in front of the eastern face of the pagoda; and the different corps, successively taking up their positions along a sloping woody ridge, formed the left of the line, the centre of which extended from the pagoda to Kemmendine; so that the British troops were nearly surrounded. When this presumptuous position was taken, a singular kind of operation commenced; for the troops, laying aside their arms, began to ply their intrenching tools with such ac-

CHAP.
LXIII.

1823-28.

tivity and skill, that in about two hours their whole line had disappeared, and could only be traced by a mound of new earth gradually increasing in height: behind such a parapet, the moving masses, which so lately attracted attention, had sunk into the ground, as by enchantment; and the existence of these subterranean legions could hardly have been credited, but for the occasional movement of a chief, with his gilt *chattah*, superintending the works: they were, however, soon taught the danger of such manœuvres before a British army; for a detachment forced their intrenchments, coming on them almost before they were seen; and having driven the whole line from cover, retired unmolested from the numerous bodies that were now forming on all sides.

The trenches were discovered to be a succession of holes, capable of receiving two men each, and excavated so as to shelter their occupants from the weather, as well as from the fire of an enemy: every hole contained also a sufficient supply of rice, water, and even fuel, for its inmates; while under the excavated bank, a bed of straw or of brushwood was prepared, on which one man could sleep, while the other kept watch. In the course of the evening, the Burmese re-occupied their trenches, which they protected by a strong corps: during the day, repeated attacks on Kemmendine had been made and repulsed, chiefly through the gallant conduct of captain Chads, his officers, and the crew of the vessels, who lent every possible assistance to our troops; but it was not till darkness had set in, that the last desperate effort was made against that post: already had the wearied soldiers laid themselves down to rest, when suddenly the whole heavens were illuminated by the blaze of several tremendous fire-rafts, floating with the ebb tide down the river, amidst incessant peals of cannon and musketry, and followed by numerous war-boats eager to take advantage of the confusion that might ensue: the skill and intrepidity, however, of British seamen defeated all these contrivances; for, entering their boats, they

grappled the flaming rafts, and conducted them past the shipping, or ran them on shore: on the land side also, the enemy were defeated with a heavy loss in the most resolute attempt they had yet made to reach the interior of our station.

CHAP.
LXIII.

1823-28.

At daylight, on the second, the Burmese were observed still busy in every part of their line; and they soon intrenched themselves within musket-shot of the northern face of the great pagoda: as their fire could now be brought to bear on the very barracks of our soldiers, it became necessary to dislodge them from particular points; and however bold they appeared under cover, it was found that at the decisive charge they always quailed before the courage of European troops. The series of attacks and combats, manifesting great spirit in the enemy's soldiers, and considerable skill in their general, lasted seven days: the left wing of their army, though defeated with much slaughter, merely retreated on their right; and the struggle was renewed, until that division also was routed with a loss of 5000 men, and an immense store of artillery: still undismayed, they rallied the remnant of this vast army, and intrenched themselves within four miles of the great pagoda, at the village of Kokeen, to the number of about 25,000 men, 'with a judgment,' as Sir A. Campbell observes, 'that would have done credit to the best-instructed engineers of the most civilised and warlike nation.' From this post however they were driven, after several brilliant exploits, in which the operations of the army were powerfully seconded by the flotilla.

Not satisfied with military manœuvres, the Burmese now had recourse to negotiations of the most treacherous and deceitful nature; priding themselves on the success of a lie, and not showing the slightest symptom of shame at detection and exposure: besides, as an immense number of inhabitants had returned to Rangoon, they introduced incendiaries into that town, who lighted up a conflagration which destroyed more than one fourth of the place, and

CHAP.
LXIII.

1823-28.

was only extinguished by the extraordinary efforts of our troops: during the whole of this time, British vessels and their boats were occupied in destroying terrific fire-rafts, which, in general, were about 100 feet square, composed of dried wood, piled up with oil, turpentine, gunpowder, and other combustibles. In January, 1825, the Burmese generalissimo was found to have stationed himself at Donoobew, about fifty miles up the river; where, having drawn to his army all the resources of the Pegu viceroyalty, he prepared himself to sustain an attack. It was now determined by the British commander to advance into the interior of the empire, though his invading force was still small, and his Siamese allies were not yet inclined to take an active part in operations: on the thirteenth of February, Sir Archibald joined the camp at Mienza, passing through forests lined for many miles by formidable stockades, where the enemy had lain during the inclement season: along the whole line of march, the army found the country deserted, and the villages destroyed; their inhabitants being most cruelly treated by the Burmese chiefs. On the twenty-sixth, his majesty's ship, *Alligator*, arrived at Rangoon; and captain Chads, who had been hitherto acting on his own responsibility, was superseded in his command by captain Alexander.

On the twenty-sixth, the British army arrived at Soomza, after marching fourteen miles through a magnificent forest, where most of the trees, in point of size and straightness, would have made mainmasts for the largest ships in our navy. The governor of this place had retired from his post; but being apprehensive of punishment for not opposing our forces with more resolution, he sent several messages, expressing his anxiety to come in and place himself under British protection: watched, however, as he was by numerous spies, and wandering about in constant fear for his life, he could find no opportunity of eluding the vigilance of his guards. One of these vile assassins at last came up to the unhappy

man with a pretended letter of forgiveness from the prince of Irrawaddy; and while his victim was in the act of reading it, severed his head at one blow from his body.¹²

CHAP.
LXIII.

1823-28.

In the mean time, Donoobew was attacked by a division of the British force, under brigadier-general Cotton, and the outworks were carried in gallant style; but the main work was discovered to be too strong to risk a farther advance, and the troops were for a time withdrawn. By the eighteenth of March, general Campbell had performed a difficult and arduous task; crossing the Irrawaddy to the west bank, with his whole force, in a few of the country canoes: by making roads and other labors, he reached Donoobew on the twenty-fifth, and found there his old adversary, Maha Bandoola, at the head of 15,000 veterans, with fortifications well mounted and manned; while a numerous cavalry hovered on the British flanks, and every thing about the stockades bespoke order and confidence. On the second of April, the British camp was pitched before these extensive works; and the heavy fire, which the enemy had kept up all the morning, intirely ceased: but there was something in this calm which foreboded a coming storm; accordingly, about ten o'clock, when the moon was fast verging toward the horizon, a sharp sound of musketry, mingled with war cries, roused the sleeping camp; and the wearied soldiers, mechanically seizing their muskets, instantly formed a line: this was scarcely done, when the opposing columns advanced impetuously with an intention of turning our right; at the same time keeping up a distant fire against the left and centre. On their outflanking the right, our two extreme regiments changed front, and, by a constant discharge of musketry, checked every attempt; so that the assailants returned in hopeless silence to their irritated commander, to receive the general reward of failure on such occasions.

¹² Snodgrass, p. 149.

CHAP.
LXIII.

1823-28.

After various petty actions, by river as well as by land, the mortar-batteries and rockets began their work of destruction on the first of April; and on the second, at daybreak, the breaching batteries opened, when two Lascars, who had been left prisoners in the fort, came running out to inform our commander that Bandoola had been killed the day before by a rocket, and that no entreaties of the other chiefs could prevail on the garrison to remain; but the whole had fled and dispersed the preceding night: this information was found quite correct; for the enemy had retired with so much secrecy and haste, that not a gun was removed; and even a large dépôt of grain was left uninjured. During the whole of these operations, the most effective service was rendered by the navy, which assisted in forcing the stockades, capturing the formidable war-boats, and conveying our troops to the best places of attack. Both captains Alexander and Chads merited and received the warmest praise for their exertions from the commander-in-chief.

Capture of
Prome.

After the dispersion of Bandoola's army, Prome was considered the only point where the invading army could be stopped; and there the utmost energies of the local authorities were employed in fortifying the place and organising a force. New generals were called out, and a numerous artillery was on its way from Ava, to occupy the summits of the surrounding hills; in a word, the whole disposable force of the empire was concentrating itself at a spot, memorable for the many sanguinary battles which had been fought there with the people of Pegu: all these preparations, however, were wholly disconcerted by the rapid movement of our army, which, at daylight on the twenty-fifth, found itself under the ridge of hills that cover Prome to the south; each being stockaded to its very summit: but the fortifications were unoccupied; the enemy had evacuated every post; and the leading column, pushing on to the city, found it in a conflagration: every exertion, however, was immediately made to

extinguish the flames, which were at length got under, after a great part of the city had been destroyed. If some negotiations, which the deceitful chiefs entered into with our commander, had occasioned a delay of only two days, according to their wishes, Prome could not have been taken without an immense sacrifice of lives. The Burmese troops, which followed the prince of Irrawaddy in his flight, burned and laid waste all the villages in their route, driving thousands of helpless people from their houses to the woods: this now became the plan of warfare; and even Russia, in her memorable resistance to the French armies, did not offer to the invading hosts such a scene of desolation: neither man nor beast escaped the retiring columns; and heaps of ashes, with groups of howling dogs, alone indicated the spots where villages and towns had stood. While these important movements occurred, a series of brilliant and sharply-contested actions had put the British in possession of the kingdom of Arracan: from Cachar also and Assam the Burmese were totally expelled; and thus terminated the second campaign of this bloody and devastating war. Prome, where the army took up its quarters for the rainy season, is 120 miles from Rangoon, but still distant 250 from Ava. Cantonments were prepared for the troops, and the inhabitants invited by every encouragement to return to their habitations; so that the poor wretches now came from all quarters in a starving condition: a dépôt was then formed, large fleets of canoes were constructed, carts and cattle for the transport of commissariat stores were provided, and due preparations made for the ensuing campaign. Nor was the Burmese court and its infatuated monarch idle: his bad advisers prevailed, and all the overtures of the British general were treated with contempt: troops were now levied in every part of the kingdom; even large bounties, a thing unheard of before, were given; and the tributary Shan tribes, bordering on China, were called on to furnish their contingent force: 1500 men of this

CHAP.
LXIII.

1823-28.

CHAP.
LXIII.

1823-28.

nation, headed by their *chobwas*, or chiefs, arrived in full hopes of sharing the plunder of the conquered invaders; so that before the end of September, a disposable army of 70,000 men was ready to act against the different columns which threatened to advance on the capital. On the twenty-second of September, Sir James Brisbane, who had been appointed to succeed commodore Grant in the command of his majesty's Indian squadron, arrived at Prome, bringing with him the boats and seamen of the *Boadicea* frigate to augment the flotilla; the command of which he entrusted to that active and intelligent officer, captain Chads. Previous to the final struggle, commissioners met to discuss terms of pacification; but where there was no honesty on one side, and no want of penetration on the other, all proposals naturally failed. A line of demarcation had been settled, and an armistice agreed on; but the Burmese troops soon began to transgress both the one and the other; and our terms being haughtily rejected, they prepared to engage us, by advancing on Prome in three divisions: the right, under Sudda Woon, consisting of 15,000 men, having crossed the Irrawaddy, moved along its western bank, intending to intercept us in the rear; the centre, of about 30,000, commanded by the Kee Wongee, or head minister, in person, advanced along the eastern side with numerous war-boats and stores; while the left, also 15,000 strong, under Maha Nemiow, a famous old general, who had the chief direction of the army, moved by a route about ten miles distant from the river, and separated from it by an extensive forest. In addition to these corps, there was a reserve of 10,000 men, commanded by the king's half-brother, prince Memiaboo, occupying a strongly-fortified post at Melloone; also another force was ready to oppose any movement from Arracan; and Sykia Wongee still carried on a desultory warfare in the vicinity of Pegu, threatening also Rangoon. The effective British force to contend with these formidable enemies, consisted only of 5000 men, besides

a garrison to maintain Prome; and of these only 3000 were Europeans: but some native regiments were opposed to Sykia Wongee, and others were in garrison at Rangoon.

CHAP.
LXIII.

1823-28.

In the first rencontre between our advanced guard and Maha Nemiow's division, the British suffered severely; their commander, colonel M'Dowall, was slain; and the troops were obliged to retreat. Encouraged by this success, the old general marched directly on Prome, but with great caution, stockading his troops at every mile of his advance, while a corresponding movement was made by the other divisions; and the central corps was now distinctly observed from our quarters, fortifying the heights of Napadee, above the river, about five miles distant. Seeing little prospect of a speedy crisis in the cautious tactics of his adversary, Sir A. Campbell resolved at once to become the assailant.

The corps of Maha Nemiow had for some days been stationary close to Prome, strengthening its position, and observing the utmost vigilance: about 8000 of his men were Shans, whose confidence had not yet been shaken by contact with our troops; and in addition to a numerous list of *chobwas* and petty princes, these levies were accompanied by three young and beautiful women of high rank, believed by their superstitious countrymen to be endowed with the gift of prophecy, and to possess the miraculous power of turning aside a musket ball. These Amazons, dressed in warlike apparel, rode about among the troops, inspiring them with an ardent desire to meet a foe, known to them as yet only by the deceitful account of their Burmese masters.¹³

On the thirtieth of November, arrangements were made to attack the enemy's forces next morning; commodore Sir James Brisbane, with the flotilla, being directed to cannonade their posts on both sides of the river at daylight; while a body of native

¹³ Snodgrass, p. 231.

CHAP.
LXIII.

1823-28.

infantry should make a feigned attack on the centre, as the columns were marching out for the real attack on the Burmese left at Simbike : for this purpose, the principal force was formed into two columns : one, under brigadier-general Cotton, marched by the direct road ; while the other, led by the commander-in-chief, crossed the Nawine river, moving along its right bank, to come round on the Burmese rear, and to cut off all retreat. The columns had scarcely commenced their march, when a furious and well-directed cannonade on the river completely deceived the enemy, drew off his piquets, and left his position open to an assault. The advance of general Cotton's column was opposed by a succession of stockades thrown across an open space in the centre of the jungle, having the Nawine river in the rear, a thick wood on either flank, and assailable only in front, where the assailants were exposed to cross fires from the zigzag formation of the works : the troops, however, moved on with their usual intrepidity ; while the Shans, encouraged by the presence of their veteran commander, who was carried from place to place in a gilded litter, cheered also by the exhortations and gallant bearing of their Amazons, offered a brave resistance : but no sooner was a lodgement made in their crowded works, than, unable to stop the progress of the assailants, or to stand against the murderous volleys, they fell into utter confusion and dismay. Horses and men ran wildly from side to side, trying to avoid the fatal fire ; parties were employed to break an outlet from their own enclosures ; while the gray-headed *chobwas* set a splendid example of valor to their followers, singly maintaining the contest sword in hand, refusing quarter, and attacking all who approached them even with the most humane intentions. Maha Nemiow himself fell bravely fighting ; and his body, together with his sword, his Won-gee's chain, and other insignia, were found among the slain : one of the fair Amazons also received a bullet in the breast ; and being recognised, was

carried to a cottage in the rear, where she expired. In the mean time, Sir A. Campbell's column, pushing rapidly on, met the flying foe in the rear, and opened a deadly fire from their horse artillery: another of the Shan ladies was here observed retreating on horseback with her defeated troops; but before she could gain the opposite bank of the Nawine river, a Shrapnel shell exploded over her head; and, falling from her horse, she was carried off by her attendants.¹⁴

CHAP.
LXIII.
1823-28.

The British commander was now enabled to attack the enemy's centre before the defeat of their left wing was generally known: in this operation he was completely successful; being greatly assisted by the flotilla, which, during the attack, rapidly passed the works, and captured all the boats and stores brought down for the use of the Burmese army. The division of Sadda Woon, protected by the intervention of the Irrawaddy, now alone remained; but this was attacked by a British force conveyed across the stream by our ships; its stockades were forced; and the whole corps, broken up and dispersed, fled in all directions through the woods.

It was now determined to advance on Ava; and nothing was wanting in the troops, or forgotten by their leader, to ensure success; but the enemy did not even yet despair: the stockades at Meaday had been made as strong as art could make them; and at Melloone, on the west bank of the Irrawaddy, the reserve under prince Memiaboo was augmented to 15,000 men; while its defences were represented as a *chef-d'œuvre* of Burmese fortification. On the ninth of December, our first division, with the commander-in-chief, began its march; and on the nineteenth arrived at Meaday; 'where,' says major Snodgrass, 'a dreadful scene of misery and death awaited them. Within and around the stockades, the ground was strewn with dead and dying, the victims of wounds, disease, and want: here and there a small white

¹⁴ Snodgrass, p. 236.

CHAP.
LXIII.

1823-28.

pagoda marked the spot where a man of rank lay buried; while numerous new-made graves denoted that what was seen was only a small remnant of mortality which the hurried departure of the enemy had left. The beach and neighboring jungles were filled with dogs and vultures; whose growling and screams, in addition to the pestilential smell of the place, rendered the situation of the British far from pleasant: but as if this scene of death was not sufficient, fresh horrors were added to it by the sanguinary leaders of the unfortunate Burmese: several gibbets were found erected about the stockades, each bearing the mouldering remains of three or four crucified victims; thus cruelly put to death, for perhaps no greater crime than that of wandering from their post in search of food, or at the worst, of following the example of their chiefs in flying from the foe. For fifty miles up the river, and all along the road by which the enemy retired, similar horrors presented themselves; and on some of the places of encampment, our soldiers could not find a place for their tents without first removing the dead bodies to a distance.' On the twenty-first, our little army moved toward Melloone; a handful of men in the heart of an immense empire! pushing boldly on to its capital, still 300 miles distant, without a hope of farther reinforcement! On the twenty-sixth, a flag of truce was sent in, with notice that a commissioner, named Kolein Menghie, had arrived, with full powers to conclude a treaty of peace: this led to a discussion, but without effect; for the most glaring falsehoods were hazarded by this new envoy: our troops having been carried across the Irrawaddy under the protection of captain Chads, an attack was made on the boasted fortifications of Melloone; their defenders were driven in utter confusion from the place; and Memiaboo's treasure, to the amount of 40,000 rupees, with all his stud, fell into our hands.

On the twenty-fifth of January, 1826, the army again moved forward, and on the thirty-first was

met by Dr. Price, an American missionary, and assistant surgeon Sandford, who had been made prisoner some months before; both having given their parole of honor to return to the capital, whether successful or not in their mission: these gentlemen brought proposals for a short truce, which was readily granted; and they retired in full confidence that they should be sent back to ratify terms of peace: this hope however proved fallacious; 40,000 men had still been collected, by high bounties, by grants of important privileges, and by the most earnest appeals to his people from a monarch tottering on his throne. This force, which was styled Gong-to-doo, or 'Retrievers of the king's glory,' was placed under the command of a savage warrior, called Nee-Woon-Breen, which has been variously translated, 'Prince of Darkness,' 'King of Hell,' and 'Prince of the Setting Sun.'¹⁵ On the eighth, when the army was within a day's march of Pagahm-mew, its doubts were wholly removed respecting the certainty of another contest; and next day, as the British columns, in number only about 2000, debouched from the forests into the open country, they discovered the Burmese drawn up in an inverted crescent. Undismayed by the strength or position of the enemy, our commander pushed boldly at their centre, which was soon overthrown; no time was given them to rally in their works, whither they were closely pursued, and again routed with great slaughter: hundreds perished by jumping into the river; and, with the exception of two or three thousand men, the whole army was dispersed on the spot: the unfortunate Nee-Woon-Breen himself had no sooner reached the capital, than he was cruelly put to death by order of the king, being trodden under foot by elephants taught to prolong the tortures of a criminal. The road to Ava now lay completely open: our troops continued to advance, and arrived within forty-five miles of the

CHAP.
LXIII.

1823-28.

¹⁵ Snodgrass, p. 279.

CHAP.
LXIII.

1823-28.

capital : there was no longer time for disguise, deceit, or treachery : on the evening of the twenty-fourth of February, therefore, Mr. Price, with two ministers of state, arrived at the camp at Yandaboo, to announce that the king and the court would submit to terms ; when the treaty was a second time settled, and finally signed ; the Burmese government at the same time engaging to furnish boats for the conveyance of a great part of our force to Rangoon. The war was thus brought to a close ; and a small band, composed of British warriors and their Indian fellow-subjects, stood as conquerors in the centre of the great Burmese empire ! Alexander's Persian conquest itself was hardly to be compared with this. A latent feeling however of disappointment pervaded the troops : though all felt proud in having compelled a stubborn foe to sign a peace glorious to themselves and their country, yet they were within three marches of the despot's capital, the source from whence the war and all its lengthened miseries had sprung ; and it was hardly to be expected that the victorious soldier should turn his back on the 'golden city,' the riches of which he had expected to share, without a sensation of regret : nor was the aspect which the region itself now assumed less inviting ; for the country from Pagahm-mew to Ava is most beautiful : 'extensive plains,' says major Snodgrass, 'of the finest land, watered by the Irrawaddy, are interspersed with evergreen woods, just large enough to give beauty and variety to the scenery ; and the banks of the river are so thickly studded with villages, pagodas, temples, monasteries, and other handsome buildings, as to afford, under one *coup d'œil*, all the charms of a richly-varied landscape, with the more sterling beauties of a populous and fertile territory.' The acceptance of terms, however, on our part was politic : every sacrifice which the king and people were disposed to make, was intended to preserve the 'golden city' from violation : that once subdued, the court would probably have fled to some distant

part of its extensive empire, leaving the conquerors in a position from which necessity would soon have compelled them to retire, with the probable sacrifice of all the objects for which we had been contending, and with the ruinous expenses of the war on our own shoulders. The following is an epitome of the articles of peace, concluded, on the one hand, by Sir A. Campbell, T. C. Robertson, Esq., and captain Chads, R. N., British commissioners; and by Mengyee-Maha-men-hlah-kyan-ten Wongee, lord of Lay-Kaing, and Mengyee Maha-men-hlah-thuhah-thoo-Atwen-woon, lord of the revenue, on the part of his Burmese majesty.

CHAP.
LXIII.

1823-28.

Conclusion
of the Bur-
mese war.

The four provinces of Arracan, and the provinces of Mergui, Tavoy, and Zea to be ceded in perpetuity to the honorable company; the Burmese government engaging to pay one crore of rupees by instalments: the provinces or kingdoms of Assam, Cachar, Zeatung, and Munnipore to be placed under princes to be named by the British government: residents, with an escort of fifty men, to be appointed at each court: British ships to be admitted into Burmese ports, to land their cargoes free of duty, not to unship their rudders, or land their guns: Burmese ships to have the same privileges in British ports: no person to be molested for their opinions or conduct during the war: the Siamese nation to be included in the treaty. Dated June 3, 1826.

Each power commenced this war ignorant of the resources of its adversary; but never was a monarch so deceived as his Burmese majesty, or one who required more convincing proofs of error and mistake: not satisfied with so many signal defeats, and undismayed by the steady advance of his foes into the heart of his empire, the king and his ministers stubbornly refused to yield, and to accept of what must be termed lenient conditions from a victorious army: but this singular obstinacy arose from their own nature and practice. A Burmese monarch has never been known to make war but for

CHAP.
LXIII.

1823-28.

the sake of conquest ; and no instance is recorded of one of their race having relinquished a single acre which he could retain : judging from themselves, they concluded that such also was our policy ; and could not credit our offer of giving up so valuable a territory, on their acquiescence in the terms proposed : negotiations therefore had no effect until backed by severe punishment ; and thus the Burmese sovereign permitted his country to be overwhelmed by a calamity, from the effects of which it may require half a century to recover, rather than listen to accommodation. The provinces ceded to Great Britain are likely to receive great advantages : the new settlement of Amherst-town, on the Saluan river, in the gulf of Martaban, particularly, is well situated as a mart for the Siamese, the Burmese, and even for the Chinese : the whole of these districts, now thinly peopled, will soon be very populous ; for the inhabitants of Pegu, and even of Ava, already acquainted with the difference between their own arbitrary laws and our more liberal institutions, will fly from oppression to the ceded provinces, where security of property and encouragement of industry will soon convert those ill-governed districts into the finest countries of the East. Nor is it likely that our Indian territories will be again disturbed by the restless and vindictive court of Ava : the cession of Arracan amply ensures freedom from interference on that side of our empire ; while the Burmese monarch cannot be ignorant, that, should he again offend, we can, by marching a force across the mountains, appear on the Irrawaddy in eight or ten days, or before his capital in a month : the ‘ king of all the elephants,’ therefore, though he may intrigue and endeavor to deceive us, will not trouble our government with another war, till the memory of the last is worn out of the remembrance of himself and of his people.

Soon after the conclusion of this contest, our Indian government sent an embassy to Ava, at the

head of which was Mr. J. Crawford, who finally settled several points relative to the frontiers, and concluded a treaty of commerce very favorable to the company. The conduct of Sir A. Campbell advanced his character for enterprise and prudence, as well as military talent and valor, to high and deserved renown: in the year 1831, he was created a baronet, and proceeded to New Brunswick as lieutenant-governor of that province: he was also presented with a splendid gold medal by the court of directors, to mark their sense of the distinguished skill and gallantry, with which he conducted the Burmese campaign, and led his brave comrades in arms to victory.

CHAP.
LXIII.

1823-28.

We must not omit to observe, that throughout these events, the exertions of the Madras government, under its illustrious governor, Sir Thomas Munro, were most admirable. One half of the army was sent abroad, either to Rangoon, Chittagong, or Calcutta; yet with the remaining forces Sir Thomas contrived to preserve in his province the most perfect order, which was never interrupted for a moment: to his suggestions also, many of the wisest measures adopted in the prosecution of the war were owing; while not a few, which might have led to disastrous results, were at his remonstrances abandoned. It is due, however, to lord Amherst to state, that he exhibited great firmness, as well as talent, under very trying circumstances; not the least of his excellences being a total absence of that vanity, which too often prompts men in power to reject the wise counsels of their inferiors.

Contemporaneously with the brilliant exploits above mentioned, a very important service was rendered to our Indian empire by the gallant commander-in-chief, lord Combermere: the object of his interposition was to protect a native prince against an usurper; but on the good or ill success of that interposition, as it is well known, depended the peace of India, or the invasion of our power by

CHAP.
LXIII.

1823-28.

a formidable league of the native princes of Hindostan. The late rajah of Bhurtpoor had died in strict alliance with our government; and, by the terms of the treaty, each party was bound to assist the other against all enemies: apprehensive, however, of the consequences that might ensue after his death, the rajah, during his life-time, had declared his son, Bulwurt Singh, his successor, and included him in the treaty of alliance with the company: but when his decease took place, his nephew, Doorjun Sal, having gained a party in the army, raised a successful revolt, obtained possession of Bhurtpoor, and seated himself on the musnud. The expelled prince then applied for aid to Sir David Ochterlony, the company's resident at Delhi, and that officer embraced his cause; but his conduct in so doing was disavowed by lord Amherst, who showed a disposition to proceed on the discarded principle of non-interference: farther information, however, induced him to change this intention; and lord Combermere was directed to march with an army for the purpose of expelling the usurper.

Having taken the field with 25,000 European and native troops, his lordship directed his first attempt against Bhurtpoor itself, a fortress of immense strength, celebrated for its successful resistance to the force employed against it by lord Lake in 1805, and considered by the natives as impregnable.

Siege and
capture of
Bhurtpoor.

The fortifications of this place were such, that one might have supposed them to have been erected in those days of unlimited command over life and labor which produced the pyramids. The wall was of mud, sixty feet in thickness, and of great height, with a very wide and deep ditch: the citadel stood at the eastern extremity, occupying a situation that appeared higher than the town, defended by higher walls, and by a wet ditch of great width and depth: the circumference of the whole was about seven miles; and the walls in all that extent were flanked with bastions, at short intervals, on which were mounted an immense number of guns. Before this

apparently secure fortress the British forces appeared on the tenth of December, 1825, with a *parc* of more than 100 pieces of artillery: during the night, the enemy had cut the embankment of a lake, for the purpose of filling the ditch; a measure of precaution, which had been very serviceable in 1805: but in the present instance, our troops arrived in time to repair the breach, before sufficient water had flowed into the fosse, to render it impassable: a few days were then spent in reconnoitring the works, and fixing on the best points of attack, until the whole battering train, with its appurtenances, should arrive: desirous, however, of saving the women and children from the effects of the terrible bombardment which he knew to be at hand, lord Combermere addressed a letter to Doorjun Sâl, requesting him to send out that inoffensive portion of the inhabitants, and promising them safe conduct: an evasive answer was at first returned, and the request was repeated; but in the true spirit of an Indian tyrant, the usurper ultimately refused his consent. On the twenty-third of December, therefore, every thing being in readiness, the besiegers commenced their first parallel, under a very heavy fire, at the distance of about 800 yards from the north-east angle of the works: on the following morning, three batteries opened on the town, and continued, with several others afterwards erected, so vigorous a fire to the end of the month, that scarcely a roof was left uninjured. Such, however, was the depth and tenacity of the mud walls, that cannon shot had very little effect on them; so that, on the third of January, 1826, miners were employed: their first attempt failed, and a second was met by a counter-mine, when our men were driven away before they had advanced many feet: on the fourteenth also, a mine under one of the bastions, being lighted too precipitately, failed of its effect, and occasioned some delay: his lordship, however, directed two others to be driven under the same bastion, which were blown up on the sixteenth, and, with the aid

CHAP.
LXIII.

1823-28.

CHAP.
LXIII.

1823-28.

of a day's cannonade, effected such a breach, that the result of the enterprise appeared no longer doubtful. Early in the morning of the eighteenth, the troops destined for the assault established themselves in the advanced trenches, unperceived by the enemy; and the explosion of a mine, loaded with 12,000 pounds of powder, under the north-east angle, was to be the signal of attack: at eight o'clock, this subterranean chamber of death was fired, and the effect was terrific: the ground trembled, as if agitated by an earthquake; and after it had heaved up with several convulsive throes, out burst the volcano: the whole of the salient angle, and the stone cavalier in its rear, were lifted into the air, which for some time was in total darkness: at length, the clouds of dust rolled away like billows in a storm; and the proud bastion, with 300 men, were seen precipitated below. Immediately, the two grand divisions of our army rushed up to the breaches, opposed by the besieged with all their implements of war, and their sabres flashing in the morning sun; but the foremost were soon laid low by the British bayonets; and the rest, giving way, were chased along the ramparts: whenever they came to a gun which they could move, they turned it against their pursuers, but were immediately bayoneted, and the gun was upset: in two hours, the whole rampart, though bravely defended, was in our possession; and early in the afternoon the citadel surrendered. Brigadier-general Sleigh, commanding the cavalry, made such a disposition of his troops, that he succeeded in capturing Doorjun Sâl, who, with his wife, two sons, and 160 chosen horsemen, attempted to effect an escape. The garrison consisted of 36,000 troops, of all arms, near 10,000 of whom are said to have fallen during the siege: our own loss was about 1200 men; many of whom were killed by the explosion of the great mine, from which the commander-in-chief himself had a narrow escape; two sepoys being destroyed by the descending masses within a few feet of his lordship.

The fortifications of Bhurtpoor were now demolished by orders from government: the principal bastions were blown up on the sixth of February; and it was left to the rains to complete the ruin: all the other fortresses in the rajah's dominions surrendered; the rightful prince was reinstated in his authority; and the inhabitants returned to their abodes and to their allegiance. For this brilliant achievement, which preserved the tranquillity of our Indian empire, lord Combermere was raised to the rank of viscount, and afterwards made colonel of the first regiment of life guards. The governor-general, on account of the success of the Bhurtpoor siege and the Burmese war, was raised to the dignities of viscount Holmsdale, and earl Amherst of Arracan.

CHAP.
LXIII.

1823-28.

Little more remains to be said of lord Amherst's administration: in 1827, his lordship, attended by lady Amherst, made an extensive voyage of inspection up the Ganges, receiving homage and entertainments from tributary rajahs, princes, and kings: he returned to Calcutta early in the ensuing year, and on the eighth of March embarked for England. At the Cape of Good Hope, where he landed, he met his successor, lord William Bentinck, who carried with him to India the character of an enlightened statesman and energetic officer: the measures, however, which have been adopted under his government for unshackling the press, afford much matter for argument and speculation: whether a free press, though incompatible with a bad despotism, be compatible with such a government under its mildest and most equitable form, still remains to be proved: the experiment is in progress, and we may hope that it will be justified by success.

Departure
of lord Am-
herst.

Arrival of
lord Ben-
tinnck.

CHAPTER LXIV.

GEORGE IV. (CONTINUED.)—1825.

Meeting of parliament—Bill for the suppression of unlawful associations in Ireland—Catholic relief bill—Its failure in the house of lords—Speech of the duke of York, and his great popularity with the high-church party—Legal reforms—Increased salary of the judges—Unitarian marriage-act—Act against combinations among workmen—Free trade system—Corn laws—Financial statements—Close of session—Great commercial panic—Domestic events—Review of foreign relations—Opening of the session of 1826—Means adopted for the restoration of commercial confidence—Modification of the corn laws—Debates on restrictions of foreign manufactures—State of finances—Criminal code—State of the colonies—Scotch representation—Removal of attainders—Dissolution of parliament—Dissensions in the cabinet—Violence of parties at the general election—Meeting of the new parliament—Indemnity bill—Vigor of Mr. Canning's policy in Portugal—Capture of Missolonghi—Opening of the Menai bridge—Death of the duke of York—Duke of Wellington commander-in-chief—Catholic question—Illness of lord Liverpool—Dissolution of the cabinet—Appointment of Mr. Canning as premier.

Meeting
of par-
liament.

THE sixth session of the existing parliament was opened by commission on the third of February, when the speech took a pleasing view of all our affairs, foreign and domestic, except those relating to Ireland, which have never yet given unalloyed satisfaction to any administration. The spirit developed in the proceedings of the catholic association could not fail to excite alarm in ministers; but as they were conscious that public opinion would not permit the enactment of a partial law

against that body, while the Orange societies were tolerated in all their violence, a bill was introduced by Mr. Goulburn, 'to amend the acts relating to unlawful associations in Ireland.' To resist this measure, opposition put forth all its strength; which produced an earnest debate, extended by adjournment through four nights: the chief interest imparted to it lay in Mr. Canning's eloquent vindication of himself against the insinuations of those who considered him estranged from the catholic cause. After reviewing the various incidents of his public life, he observed;—'I have thus shown, that in 1812 I refused office rather than enter into an administration pledged against the catholic question: I did this at a time when office would have been dearer to me than at any other period of my political career; when I would have given ten years of life for two of office; not on account of any sordid or selfish purpose of aggrandisement, but for other and higher views. Nor is this the only sacrifice I have made to the catholic cause: from the earliest dawn of my public life, ay, from the first visions of youthful ambition,—that ambition was directed to one object, before which all others vanished comparatively into insignificance: that object, far beyond all the blandishments of power, beyond all the rewards and favors of the crown, was to represent in this house the university at which I was educated. I had a fair chance of accomplishing it, when the catholic question crossed my path: I was warned, fairly and kindly warned, that my adoption of that cause would blast my prospect: I adhered to the catholic cause, and forfeited all my long-cherished hopes and expectations: yet I am told that I have made no sacrifice! that I have postponed the cause of the catholics to views and interests of my own!' Mr. Canning then, in a high tone of feeling and language, congratulated Mr. Peel, who had attained to that enviable distinction; little dreaming, when he prayed that it might 'long prove a source of reciprocal pride to their parent

CHAP.
LXIV.

1825.

Catholic
relief-bill.

university and her representative,' how near the time was at hand, when even that champion of protestant ascendancy would be rejected by his Alma Mater as one of the most reprobate of her sons! Mr. Goulburn's bill was finally carried by large majorities; but the catholic association, though it yielded to legal authority, and became defunct, was soon resuscitated under a different form: ostensibly regulating itself according to the late act, it disclaimed all religious exclusions, oaths, powers of acting in redress of grievances, and correspondence with dependent societies; thus, evading the recent enactments, and concealing its intentions under the mask of charitable purposes, it pursued its original designs with impunity. So little was the question of catholic emancipation considered to be involved in this concerning the association, that many of its warmest advocates voted in favor of the late act: indeed, after it had passed, the friends of emancipation determined to put forth still stronger efforts; accordingly, Sir Francis Burdett brought forward a plan, in which the principal bill for the removal of civil disabilities was accompanied by two others, in derision termed 'its wings:'. of these, one proposed to enact a state provision for the Roman catholic clergy, the other to raise the Irish franchise from forty shillings to ten pounds; the former being meant as a security to the state, the latter as a protection to Irish protestants against the overwhelming majority of catholics at elections. The principal bill passed the house of commons with majorities increasing in its several stages; but its ultimate fate was clearly foreseen before it reached the lords; for on the twenty-fifth of April, between the second and third readings in the lower house, the duke of York took occasion, in presenting a petition against it from the dean and chapter of Windsor, to utter his memorable speech, asserting—that the concession of the catholic claims was repugnant not only to the king's coronation oath, but to the principles of the constitution; and declaring that, 'to the last moment of his life, what-

ever might be his situation, he would oppose them, so help him God.' Such a declaration from the heir presumptive to the throne was viewed by one party as a very unconstitutional proceeding; but by the other it was extolled, as the most manly, patriotic, and noble expression of sentiment that could be delivered at a critical moment: it was accordingly printed in letters of gold, and became the very watchword of the party. Being also supposed to express the sentiments of the reigning sovereign, it exercised a strong influence on the votes of those who were expectants of court favor; so that when the emancipation bill was brought up to the peers, it was thrown out by a majority of 178 to 130. The 'wings,' after this failure, were of course abandoned; and as popular feeling repudiated the principle on which they rested, Mr. O'Connell, who in the first instance had consented to force a state annuity on the Roman catholic priesthood, and to disfranchise the forty-shilling freeholders, made a public recantation of his errors, and 'asked pardon of God and his country.' The committee on the general condition of Ireland, which was re-appointed by the lords at the opening of the session, made its report; and the evidence produced of the misery existing in that misgoverned and unfortunate country, plainly showed that it could not long remain in such a state.

CHAP.
LXIV.

1825.

None of those great questions of constitutional law, which, in times of distress, were represented as involving the very existence of the state, came under discussion this year: parliamentary reform, with its kindred topics, was also left unnoticed; while the legislature attended more to changes in the administration of justice, and of those laws which affect the civil relations between man and man: above all, improvement was sought in the court of chancery;—a tribunal, superior to all others in the practical efficacy of its operations, in the comprehensive extent of its range, and in the enlarged principles on which it acts. The courts of common law may be called

CHAP.
LXIV.

1825.

excellent within their own sphere; but if their doctrines and forms were not modified by equitable jurisdiction, they would in many instances cease to be instruments of justice: they look only at so much of a transaction as falls within their arbitrary definitions; though there may be circumstances, not comprehended in such definitions, which intirely alter its nature, yet those a court of law cannot look at; and it deals with the matter in hand, as if that little portion of it, which is included in a legal definition, embraced all the particulars of the case: even where a court of law is by its principles permitted to view the whole of an action, it is often incapable, by reason of its forms, to do essential justice; as might be instanced in matters of accounts, the easiest of all subjects submitted to a court of equity, but which can hardly ever be settled in any other; and are generally referred to arbitration: on the contrary, nothing is too complex for the court of chancery, the duty of which is to deal with human transactions as it finds them; not substituting for realities narrow definitions, but examining all their details, and judging of them by the application of a system of principles built up through successive ages of talent and laborious improvement: besides, the court of chancery exercises functions very different from the mere determination of litigated rights, particularly in the guardianship of property, where, from the mode in which it is often limited in a refined state of society, partial interests come successively into existence throughout a long period, before there exists an absolute owner: from the vast variety, therefore, and complicated nature of the transactions with which this court deals, as well as from the enlarged principles on which it acts, it would be surprising if there were not parts in its machinery requiring improvement; and if any set of men, from pure motives, and with adequate knowlege of the subject, had devoted themselves to the task of ascertaining what alterations might be advantageously and prudently made

in the forms and practice of equitable jurisdiction, they would have merited applause as public benefactors: the subject, however, unhappily fell into the hands of *Nisi prius* lawyers, who were not well acquainted with its details, and who from motives of political hostility seemed to make it an engine for assailing the character of the lord chancellor. In legal knowledge and sagacity, in patient investigation and impartial adjudication, probably no man superior to lord Eldon ever held the great seal of England; but the very nature of his mind,—particularly, that large and comprehensive perception of analogies, which he eminently possesses, led him into habits of hesitation, doubt, and indecision, which delayed proceedings in his court, until the miserable suitors were too often driven to despair: also the life he had led from early youth, addicted solely to legal studies, and abstracted from the ameliorating influence of general society, caused him to adhere pertinaciously to existing institutions, and to oppose the introduction of innovation into any system with which he was connected: never did his prejudices relax so far as to suffer, without a shock, the approach of a correcting hand even to abuses which he had himself in his earlier days denounced: the bankrupt laws he had declared to be the disgrace of the country; ‘little more than a stock in trade for commissioners, assignees, and solicitors:’ the complicated procedure of his court had also fallen under his severest reprehension; but he suffered these and all other abuses to flourish, without ever suggesting, or even tolerating, a remedy: those who praise him, very deservedly, for his many estimable qualities and virtues, his talents and industry, his wisdom and learning, would find it difficult to point out a single triumph over abuse achieved by his great and splendid faculties. As his legal prejudices were even surpassed by those which fettered him on all questions of international policy or domestic administration; and as he was thought, in his distribution of professional honors and emoluments, to

CHAP.
LXIV.

1825.

overlook those whose political opinions were obnoxious to him; he drew on himself attacks from disappointed men, whose irritated feelings led them to wound the judge through the court over which he presided: hence, it can be no matter of surprise that they were found ignorant in the very practices which they denounced, or unable to provide suitable remedies when invited to propose them. A commission of inquiry, which had been appointed last year, and had not yet made its report, produced no suspension of hostilities; but, on the contrary, became in its turn a theme of severe abuse.

Two discussions on the subject took place this session; the first introduced by Mr. J. Williams, who, in presenting some petitions complaining of particular proceedings in chancery, delivered a long and sarcastic speech, in which he attacked the whole law of England; while that of real property, of which however he declared himself ignorant, was the object of his peculiar animadversion. On the seventh of June, Sir Francis Burdett brought the subject again under discussion, by moving, that the evidence taken by the commission, instituted to investigate the practice of the court of chancery, be printed. Mr. Peel opposed the motion, because to print such evidence, without any accompanying report, was contrary to the practice of the house; and even if it were printed, the session was too far advanced for the introduction of any measure relating to it: during the discussion which ensued, Sir M. W. Ridley seriously deprecated the attacks made night after night on the lord chancellor, who, he was persuaded, stood very high in the estimation of the British people: Mr. Brougham, however, did not profit by advice; but quitting that commendable spirit of moderation which he had for some time pursued, broke forth into a vehement attack on lord Gifford, who had been distinguished by the patronage of the chancellor, and was then deputy-speaker of the house of lords: the motion was rejected by a majority of 154 to 73.

The chancellor of the exchequer brought forward a measure for augmenting the salaries of the judges; which, whilst it provided that fees should no longer form a part of their emoluments, prohibited the sale of those offices, which the chiefs of the respective courts had been allowed so to dispose of: at first, it was proposed to grant the puisne judges £6000 a year; but the scheme ultimately adopted gave to the chief justices of the king's bench and common pleas respectively £10,000 and £8000; to the chief baron of the court of exchequer £7000; and to each of the other judges £5500; while the retiring pensions of all were increased: the whole of this arrangement met with very illiberal opposition; for how few men bring so much talent, and give up so much time, to the public service! how few sacrifice so largely the profits of a lucrative profession, as the judges of our land! The unitarian marriage act, though supported by the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of Lichfield, and lord Liverpool, being opposed by the lord chancellor, was again rejected: so also was Mr. serjeant Onslow's bill for the repeal of the usury laws, though Mr. C. Wynne stated, that not only himself, but the chancellor of the exchequer and president of the board of trade, as well as most of the cabinet ministers, were favorable to their abolition.

Many mischievous effects having arisen from the passing of an act proposed by Mr. Hume, which repealed both the statute and common law against combinations among workmen, Mr. Huskisson called the attention of the house to this subject, and detailed some very painful reports regarding it, which had been forwarded to the secretary for the home department: as a general principle, he admitted, that every man had an inherent right to carry his own labor to the best market, since labor was the poor man's capital; but, on the other hand, he as strenuously contended for the perfect freedom of those who gave employment to that labor; whose property, machinery, and capital ought equally to

CHAP.
LXIV.

1825.

Free-trade
system.

be protected: having shown the very injurious operation of the present system, he moved for a select committee, whose report soon led to a repeal of the act.

It had long been matter of doubt, whether the restraints which confined the trade of our colonies to the mother country, subject to regulations made solely with a view to the advantage of the latter, were not, in fact, injurious to both; and some steps in relaxation of the system had been already taken: but at this time, Mr. Huskisson undertook the responsibility of bringing the whole subject before the legislature, braving the clamors of those, whose prejudices might remain unsubdued by the force of his statements, and the nature of his facts. The alterations which he proposed in our colonial system, were explained in a very elaborate speech on the twenty-third of March; when, by entering into historical details, he proved that all those articles of manufacture which had been most fostered, had most languished; that excessive duties made the smuggler's fortune, while the manufacturer was disappointed, and the exchequer defrauded; that the apprehension which guarded our fabrics with high duties was unfounded; and that the true policy of the state, as well as the advantage of individuals, would be consulted, by reducing those duties sufficiently to countervail whatever might be imposed on the raw material used in the different manufactories. Having first shown the very ungrateful return made to this country by the United States of America, which had been allowed to trade with our colonies in their own vessels, he proposed to open the colonial ports to all friendly powers, on the same principle, though with some modifications, as that on which they now traded with Jersey or Ireland: he was also anxious to encourage our own commerce, and that of our colonies, with the countries of South America, by extending to certain colonial ports the benefits and regulations of the warehousing or bonding system: another boon,

intended for the colonies and their trade, was the abolition of large fees levied in almost all their ports, for the benefit of public officers: he also recommended two alterations of a local and specific nature; one lowering the duty on sugar, imported from the Mauritius, to the same rate as that from the West Indies; the other admitting, at all times, the importation of corn from Canada, on the payment of a fixed and moderate duty. The resolutions embodying these propositions were unanimously adopted, with one trifling exception; the bill, permitting the importation of corn from Canada at a duty of five shillings, being limited in its operation to a period of two years.

CHAP.
LXIV.

1825.

On the twenty-fifth, Mr. Huskisson brought forward the other parts of his scheme for promoting commerce by the diminution of duties imposed with a view to protection rather than to revenue, and for affording relief to the shipping and navigation interests. He began by proposing a reduction of duties on the cotton and woollen trade, as well as those on manufactured linen, which in some cases rose as high as 180 per cent; but which he proposed to lower to ten, fifteen, and twenty-five per cent respectively: he next adverted to foreign paper, books, and glass, which were almost prohibited by excessive duties; also to metallic substances, particularly iron, copper, zinc, and lead: he thence proceeded to consider how far it was possible to reduce certain imposts on raw materials, which interfered with the success of the capitalist, who was obliged to use them in his manufactures; instancing the cases of articles employed in dying, as well as oil expressed both from olives and from rape seed: the duty on this latter he wished to take off altogether, and thus enable the manufacturer to supply the farmer with cake, instead of compelling him to procure it at a large cost in the foreign market: he also proposed to reduce the duty on all foreign wool, imported at a lower price than a shilling the pound, to one

CHAP.
LXIV.

1825.

halfpenny. Mr. Huskisson concluded with some measures tending to relieve the commerce and navigation of the country : there was already a bill on the table to do away with quarantine duties, which the committee on foreign trade had equitably proposed to lay on the community at large : farther measures which he contemplated were, the abolition of all fees on commerce with our colonies ; and the removal of the duty payable on the transfer of any share in a ship, or of a whole ship, from one person to another. There was still another mode in which the shipping interest might be relieved ; and that consisted in a reduction of stamps for bonds, required from exporters of certain goods to be delivered at certain places, from forty shillings to four shillings : he would also apply the same principle to custom-house debentures, or documents given, by way of security, to those who were intitled to drawbacks : as conducive to the same end, he proposed an improvement in the lax system of our consular establishments ; granting, instead of fees, a regular salary to the officers who superintended them. Though several members of the house expressed an apprehension that such extensive changes in our commercial system might be injurious, Mr. Huskisson's propositions were generally approved, both by parliament and by the country : the resolutions in which they became embodied were adopted without a dissentient voice, and were afterwards carried into execution by bills framed in conformity with them. Connected with these changes, was the surrender of its charter by the Levant company, established in the reign of James I., and endowed with very considerable privileges.

In May, the secretary for foreign affairs laid on the table of the house of commons three state papers of considerable importance : the first was a treaty of commerce with the independent states of the Rio de la Plata : the second was a treaty concluded with Russia by Mr. Stratford Canning, during his

mission to St. Petersburg, settling in a satisfactory manner the disputed claims which existed between the two countries, with regard to territories on the north-west coast of America, as well as to certain rights of trade and navigation in the Pacific Ocean : the third was a treaty between Great Britain and Sweden, having for its object the abolition of the slave trade, as carried on by the subjects, or under the flag, of either nation. The effectual measure of visitation and detention—a measure pertinaciously resisted by France—was with a frank and manly policy adopted by Great Britain and Sweden ; so that the cruisers of either power, under certain limitations, were permitted to stop, and bring in for adjudication, slave vessels trading under their respective flags : these limitations, indeed, restricted the exercise of the right to a small number of vessels on both sides, and in many other particulars guarded cautiously against the abuse of it : but as this right could not exist at all, in time of peace, except by virtue of a treaty, Mr. Canning, in obtaining the recognition of so important a principle, rendered great service to the cause of humanity.

The fluctuations of price in the corn market, and the distress attendant on them, since the period when the averages that were to regulate importation had been fixed, brought this complex question again before parliament : Mr. Huskisson declared himself favorable to a revision of the whole subject ; he never had supposed that the former law could be permanent ; for the policy of it must necessarily be viewed in relation to changes in the growth and price of corn abroad, as well as at home : it was also to be considered, that when we excluded grain, other nations would retaliate by excluding manufactures ; a state of things, not to be desired by a country so essentially manufacturing and commercial as Great Britain : at the same time, in legislating on the admission of foreign corn, it was fit that the landed interest should not be overlooked : when it was said that our manufactures were no longer pro-

CHAP.
LXIV.

1825.

tected, and that corn therefore should be free, the argument was not applicable; because the latter was grown cheaper abroad, the former were produced cheaper at home, and therefore not subject, like the other, to be brought down by unrestrained importation. The motion for a committee on the corn laws, proposed by Mr. Whitmore, was not carried.

Financial
statements.

As the finances continued to improve, and the surplus exceeded by nearly £1,000,000 the estimate of the preceding year, taxes were lowered on various articles, directly and indirectly, to the amount of £1,500,000: the relief, with one exception,—a diminution of duties on ardent spirits,—was judiciously applied: the imposts reduced were on hemp, coffee, wines, British spirits and rum, cider, and those articles in the assessed taxes which pressed particularly on the lower classes of society: after these arrangements, Mr. Robinson still calculated the gross revenue of the current year at £56,444,375, and the expenditure, including the interest of the debt, with the sinking fund, at rather more than £56,000,000: his speech on this occasion was eloquent, and his anticipations sanguine; and though some parties were dissatisfied, because there was not a greater diminution of direct taxation, others because greater relief was not given to the West India interests, and some because the duties on tobacco were not lowered; yet altogether the financial statements and proposals were received with approbation, and the estimates for the year voted with little opposition. The session, therefore, was brought to a very harmonious conclusion; and on the sixth of July, parliament was prorogued by commission, under the appearance of extraordinary prosperity; but the illusion was soon to be dissipated, and all the golden prospects of the chancellor of the exchequer to vanish like a dream.

Great com-
mercial
panic.

The causes of this sudden and unexpected reverse of fortune are now to be investigated. The vast abundance of capital, and consequent low rate of

profit, during the last three years, had greatly promoted the increase of manufactures for exportation; and as the system of country banks continued in operation, this apparent prosperity of manufactures attracted to them much capital; and a system of credit was generated which caused a still farther extension: speculation at the same time added its impulse to this system; until, in the course of the present year, paper money, of various kinds, thrown into circulation, increased the quantity of currency beyond what the causes determining our supply of gold could sustain: the exchanges turned against us; the currency became depreciated; and gold began to flow out of the country. The Bank of England, finding that the demand for gold diminished its stock of coin, contracted its issue of notes; and in this way, if the state of trade had been good, the currency might have been reduced sufficiently to restore the exchanges to par, leaving us with our natural quantity: but the reduction in quantity took place first among those who had pushed their credit to the utmost: these parties were consequently rendered incapable of meeting their engagements, and became bankrupts. Speculation, or over-trading, being very general, the failure of some alarmed others; those who had given credit pressed their debtors for payment; goods were sacrificed to make it; prices came down, alarm increased, and ruin seemed impending over all. At this time, the three per cent consols fell from eighty-two to seventy-five; and, so difficult was it to get money which would be received, that interest was given, in some instances, for temporary loans, at a rate equal to fifty per cent per annum: country bank notes were extensively driven from circulation; and the Bank of England, being in better credit, put out a large additional amount; yet they were nearly drained of their coin; and, if their stock had been quite exhausted, a new restriction must have taken place, or the whole mass of Bank of England notes would have been, as it

CHAP.
LXIV.

1825.

were, annihilated : in that case, as coin could not have been procured immediately, we should have been reduced to a state of barter. On the authority of Mr. Huskisson, it is stated, that a run on the Bank for another forty-eight hours would have actually brought us to that alarming condition.

These evil effects arose out of the system, which allowed companies, or individuals, to create paper money to any extent, and push it into circulation ; the only check being their liability to pay their paper in gold ; a check, which the events of this period showed to be no adequate security against an almost annihilation of the common instrument of exchange. Neither the amount of taxes, nor the high rate of rent, nor low rate of profit, had any necessary connexion with this extraordinary derangement of commercial affairs ; but it resulted from speculation, aided by a vicious system of making paper money, which improperly increased the quantity of currency, drove gold out of the country, and then caused a general demand for it in exchange for paper, which demand could not be met : the consequence was an almost general breaking up of those who depended on this paper, and an approach to the annihilation of paper money.

The joint-stock companies, in whose schemes a sum of more than £17,500,000 had been subscribed, and which, in the plenitude of their imaginary power, would have contracted to throw a bridge across the channel, or make a tunnel to the antipodes, were for the most part in the gazette, without a solvent subscriber, or an available shilling ; and, toward the end of the year, several London banks stopped payment : the agitation in the city became extreme ; and, at length, a general alarm, or, as it was termed, a panic, ensued : all hastened to draw their money from the bankers, thus ensuring the very catastrophe which they dreaded ; and more than seventy country banks either totally failed, or were compelled to suspend their payments, before the consternation

had subsided: this violent stoppage of all ordinary channels of credit, and the consequent cessation of business, exercised a strong reaction on the trading and manufacturing interests; so that the year 1825 closed amidst the most alarming convulsions of the mercantile world which this nation had ever witnessed. Both government and the Bank of England came with laudable promptitude to the relief of the public: an extraordinary coinage of gold was expedited; a new issue of one and two pound notes was poured into the country to supply the deficiency of circulation caused by provincial failures; and commercial meetings were encouraged to pass resolutions for the support of national credit; by which means the progress of alarm was checked, and public confidence in some degree restored.

CHAP.
LXIV.

1825.

In March this year Mr. Brunel commenced his extraordinary undertaking to construct a tunnel under the Thames at Rotherhithe; and on the fifteenth of June the first stone of the New London Bridge was laid by John Garratt, Esq., lord mayor, in the presence of the duke of York, attended by Mr. John Rennie, the eminent architect of this work. The failure of so many companies put a short stop to the general scheme for improvements in London, though several were projected: last year, the plan of macadamising the principal streets and squares commenced; but it was now found, that where there was a very heavy and constant draught, such a system was not practicable. This year, the second grand festival was held in York cathedral, when the receipts amounted to the immense sum of £20,200, and the expenditure to £11,000:¹⁶ out of the surplus, £6000 was destined for the erection of a grand concert room, and the remainder was distributed among the city and county hospitals. One of the most extraordinary instances of accumulation

Domestic
events.

¹⁶ At the first meeting of this kind the sum collected was £16,174, the expenditure was £8809, and £7200 was given to the charities.

CHAP.
LXIV.

1825.

ever known was made public in the accounts of the Equitable Life Assurance Company. Its vested capital, in the month of June, was as follows :—

Three per cents	£9,650,000
Three and a half ditto :	430,000
On mortgage	952,000
	<hr/>
	£11,032,000

Of this immense property, no less than £8,718,108 had accumulated in the period between December, 1804, and June, 1825. On the sixteenth of August, the first steam vessel to India, the *Enterprise*, captain Johnston, R.N., left Falmouth, reaching the Cape on the thirteenth of October, and arriving at Bengal on the ninth of December : also a new expedition started on a scheme of discovery in Africa, under captain Clapperton : its enterprising leader died at Soccato in April, 1827 ; but his papers were preserved by his faithful attendant, Richard Lander, who, with his brother, had afterwards the glory of solving the long doubtful problem respecting the course of the Niger.

In March, a grand entertainment was given to the duke of Wellington by noblemen and gentlemen connected with the commerce of the metropolis, for the purpose of presenting his grace with a magnificent vase, of the value of 1100 guineas, in testimony of his transcendent services ; ‘not (as the inscription remarked) in the presumptuous hope of extending the glory of a name which is imperishable, but to testify their admiration of the last and greatest of his achievements, the battle of Waterloo.’ The duke, in returning thanks for this noble present, without undervaluing the conduct of himself, his officers, and gallant men, attributed the great success of that battle, and of the war, chiefly to the indomitable spirit of the country : with regard to the great victory which was so splendidly noticed, he very justly characterised it as one, ‘that

had produced consequences unheard of, as the result of any event in ancient or modern times; relieving mankind from every apprehension of a return to that horrible, revolting, and degrading tyranny, which had been imposed on almost all the world, but which the people of this country had happily escaped.'

CHAP.
LXIV.

1825.

Among the events which took place this year on the continent, that which seemed pregnant with the most important consequences was the death of the emperor Alexander; for it appeared capable not only of putting in jeopardy the tranquillity of the empire, but of changing the whole course of its foreign policy: the event, however, was not felt beyond the limits of Russia. The grand duke Constantine, who had renounced his right of inheritance on occasion of his marriage with a Polish lady, adhered to his pledge; and though a conspiracy exploded at St. Petersburg, under pretence of forcing the crown on him, it was defeated by the grand duke Nicholas, who succeeded to the throne, professing a determination to pursue steadily that course of policy which had been adopted by his predecessor. France was occupied in the coronation of its bigoted and infatuated monarch, who soon proved the truth of Napoleon's expression concerning him and his race, 'that they had learned nothing, and had forgotten nothing, in their adversity.' Sweden, Denmark, and Germany remained without much alteration of circumstances, except that some of the members of the holy alliance, who had nearly renounced all intercourse with Wurtemberg, as not being sufficiently friendly to their principles, renewed their diplomatic relations with that power: Russia and Austria again sent ambassadors to Stuttgart, professing to have forgiven the king's lapse of judgment in favoring the principles of constitutional government. Unhappy Spain was not only dishonored by the presence of foreign troops, but distracted by all the miseries of factions, revolts, and changes of administration; nor were there

Review of
foreign
relations.

CHAP.
LXIV.

1825.

many of its cities, where the prisons were not filled with persons implicated in, or suspected of rebellion : at this period, however, the king seemed, by comparison, to have assumed a new character, and to appear as protector of the liberal party : the prisoners, on the present occasion, were ultra-royalists, monks, and priests, who, thirsting for the blood of the constitutionalists, gave out that ' the beloved Ferdinand ' himself was a freemason ; and that the object of all good Spaniards was to place on the throne the infant Don Carlos, whose excellent principles and sincere catholicism were well known. In Portugal, principally through the influence of the British and French ambassadors, the king was induced to recognise the independence of Brazil, the sovereignty of which he ceded to his eldest son, Don Pedro : after this preliminary step, the proffered mediation of Great Britain between the two states was accepted ; and Sir Charles Stuart visited Rio Janeiro to negotiate a treaty between the mother country and the new transatlantic empire : the interior state, however, of Brazil was much disturbed by the tyrannical and imprudent conduct of its new emperor ; and war also commenced between Brazil and the republic of Buenos Ayres. In Italy all was tranquil, and the Austrian government proceeded in its usual routine. With regard to the papal states, the administration of Leo XII. was distinguished by a superior degree of bigotry ; and in Naples, the old king, who died on the fourth of January, was succeeded by his present majesty ; when many persons, who had been exiled on account of their share in the Neapolitan revolution, received permission to return. The relations between Turkey and Russia still continued in a very ambiguous and critical state ; though no steps were taken toward hostilities on either side. During the winter, the Greeks had been more occupied by internal dissensions than by efforts to meet their barbarous foes ; who, on the contrary, had made all possible preparations for a vigorous

campaign: the most important feature in this was the Egyptian expedition under Ibrahim Pasha, stepson to Mahomet Ali, pasha of Egypt; who, having landed in the Morea, with a formidable force, trained by European discipline, soon reduced the city of Navarino. In western Greece, the Turks invested Missolonghi, where lord Byron, the zealous and disinterested advocate of the Greek cause, died last year. In the United States, Mr. John Quincy Adams was chosen president, against three competitors, by the legislative body, on whom the election devolved; no candidate having had the requisite majority of suffrages among the electors deputed by the States. In South America, the various republics were proceeding to consolidate their power; though Chili was much disturbed, and Paraguay had fallen under the despotic tyranny of Dr. Francia.

CHAP.
LXIV.

1826.

The commercial affairs of Great Britain were still in a very unsettled state, when parliament assembled in the beginning of February; and the first attention of both houses was naturally directed to existing difficulties, though the greater part of them could receive no remedy but through the lenient hand of time: the hazard of their recurrence, however, might be lessened; accordingly, the house of commons, in pursuance of a recommendation in the speech, to protect public and private interests against sudden fluctuations by placing the currency on a firm foundation, resolved itself into a committee on the Bank charter; when a proposition for prohibiting the issue of notes below the value of £5, and withdrawing those in circulation after a period of three years, was brought forward by the chancellor of the exchequer; and being supported by Mr. Brougham, though opposed by Mr. Baring, was carried by a majority of 232 to 89. This resolution to extinguish small notes in England (for the measure did not extend to Scotland) was followed by two other bills affecting the currency: the first of

Meeting of
parliament.

CHAP.
LXIV.

1826.

these, in opposition to what was thought an unjust monopoly of the Bank of England, permitted the number of partners in each country bank to be unlimited; ¹⁷ the second, as a compensation to the Bank for such a concession, extended its exclusive privileges to a circle round the metropolis, with a radius of sixty-five miles; and authorised the directors to establish branch banks in different parts of the country. While these measures were in progress, the public distress appeared but little diminished, and there seemed to be a general expectation that government would alleviate it by an issue of exchequer bills: ministers, however, had the firmness and prudence to abstain from any short-sighted and injurious palliatives; though they guaranteed the Bank to the extent of two millions for the purchase of exchequer bills in the money market. The Bank itself came to a resolution of lending three millions on direct or collateral security; but the whole of this was not applied for; and the very knowledge that such loans were attainable, had a considerable effect in restoring confidence among the commercial classes. What indeed can destroy the elasticity of a country which possesses such resources as Great Britain, while she is true to herself? Commerce, feeling itself unshackled, soon repaired its losses, discovering new powers, and new provinces; forcing its way not only through European nations, where the ingratitude of those who had recovered their thrones by our assistance repaid us by raising barriers against our trade; but penetrating the most barbarous regions of the earth, while it laid open the mysterious Niger and the distant Irrawaddy to our ships.

Modifica-
tion of
corn laws.

The corn laws were again agitated, and a committee was moved for by Mr. Whitmore, to take them into consideration. Mr. Huskisson, on being referred to more particularly, as having in the pre-

¹⁷ Previous to this time, it could not exceed six.

ceding session pledged himself to a revision of these enactments, maintained that the pledge was qualified; that the present was not a fit time for such an undertaking, though he had every reason to suppose that during next year this subject might with propriety be brought before the house; in which case, he was most anxious to give it a serious and dispassionate consideration: but though the arrangement of the corn laws thus remained unsettled, it was found necessary, before the end of the session, to introduce two bills for modifying their strict operation. There was at present but little diminution of public distress; and its continued pressure led to a series of disgraceful riots in Lancashire, where the vengeance of the mob was furiously directed against machinery, especially power looms, under a notion that these were the great cause of their want of employment. The people acted from ignorance; but this ignorance had been stimulated by a state of suffering approaching almost to starvation, which no local subscriptions could relieve: as therefore, in the ports of Hull, Liverpool, and some others, there were about three thousand quarters of bonded wheat, it was supposed that the admission of this into the market might diminish the extent of suffering, while it would have no material effect on the agricultural interests: Mr. Canning therefore brought forward a proposition to allow bonded corn to come into the market. Again, as it was impossible to foretell the result of the ensuing harvest, (and from the general aspect of the crops fears were entertained on this point) it was also proposed, as a measure of precaution, to vest in government, during the recess, a power of permitting foreign grain to be imported, on payment of a fixed duty. Both measures were carried, after a strong opposition: but in the second case, the quantity of corn admissible, instead of being indefinite, was limited to 500,000 quarters; and the period to two months from the opening of the ports.

In 1824, the legislature had begun to act on the principles of free trade, by taking off those restric-

Debates on
free trade.

CHAP.
LXIV.

1826.

tions which intirely prohibited the importation of foreign silks ; and to the bill which permitted their admission with an *ad valorem* duty of thirty per cent, and which was now about to come into operation, a large portion both of masters and workmen referred the depression of the trade, rather than to causes which did not come so readily within general comprehension : many manufacturers also limited their orders until the effect of this untried system should be somewhat known ; while more joined in the outcry raised against it : the truth is, little opposition was made to the measure when it passed ; and if other circumstances, which that measure in no way affected, had not created distress, it never would have been decried : a great decay, however, of the trade having taken place, nothing was easier than to ascribe it to the impossibility of our meeting foreign competitors in the market, loaded as we were with taxation and burdens of various kinds : accordingly, numerous petitions were presented from the districts in which silk manufactures were carried on, praying for a repeal, or at least for a modification, of the enactment of 1824. On the twenty-third of February, Mr. Ellice, one of the members for Coventry, moved that these petitions should be referred to a select committee ; and the motion led to a debate, which by adjournment continued two evenings : on this occasion, Mr. Huskisson was driven to vindicate the leading part he had taken in the measure referred to ; a task, which he executed with eminent ability and success, being ably seconded by Mr. Canning ; who, in a speech, interesting not only for its talent, but for the just and generous praise bestowed on his friend, gave utterance to the feelings of vexation and disgust which he and Mr. Huskisson had to endure from the enemies of reason and philosophy ; ‘ a sect, small in numbers, and powerless in might ; who thought that all advances toward improvement were retrogradations toward jacobinism : these persons,’ he said, ‘ seem to imagine, that under no possible circumstances can an honest man endeavor to keep

his country on a line with the progress of political knowlege, and to adapt its course to the varying circumstances of the world : such an attempt is branded as an indication of mischievous intentions, as evidence of a design to sap the very foundations of the country's greatness.' The following passage, however, particularly deserves observation, as tending to unmask a set of hypocritical patriots, who strive to maintain their selfish views and miserable prejudices under the shelter of a great name, while they either egregiously misrepresent or completely misunderstand the character of him who bore it. 'It is singular,' said Mr. Canning, 'to remark, how ready some people are to admire in a great man the exception, rather than the rule of his conduct : such perverseness is like the idolatry of barbarous nations, who can see the noonday splendor of the sun without emotion ; but when he is eclipsed, come forward with hymns and cymbals to adore him. Thus, there are those who venerate Mr. Pitt less in the brightness of his meridian glory, than under his partial obscurations ; who gaze on him with the fondest admiration when he has ceased to shine.' Mr. Pitt was a true philosopher, and no stubborn follower of antiquated precedents : who indeed can conceive, that, if he had lived, experience would not have corrected many of his views, and the improved state of the world opened his eyes to glorious visions of the future ? Mr. Canning, in one of his later speeches, declared, that in applying philosophy to politics, he only carried into effect Mr. Pitt's own declarations.

Soon afterwards, Mr. Huskisson was obliged to enter on a defence of the late policy pursued respecting the shipping interest and navigation laws ; on which occasion, nothing could be more clear or comprehensive than his exposition of the principles on which the former system was founded, of the changes which had since occurred, and of the consequent necessity of our conformity to those altered circumstances : the whole of our colonial and foreign commerce passed under his review, from the first

CHAP.
 LXIV.

1826.

enactment of the navigation law, 12 Charles II, to the present period: he proved the necessity, as well as the policy, of the various innovations which had from time to time been made on its principle, more especially since the close of the first American war; and to support his statement, he concluded by moving for a variety of returns relative to shipping, tonnage, and men, employed in the merchant service, from the year 1814 to 1825 inclusive.

Financial
 statements.

Though the financial statement of the chancellor of the exchequer partook of that favorable character which it had sustained for the last three years, he admitted that it would be unsafe to frame his estimates without allowing for some loss in various branches of revenue, consequent on the present state of public embarrassment; but, after all deductions, he could not reckon the probable produce of the year before him at less than £57,000,000, while he calculated the whole expenditure at £56,328,421. In his speech on this occasion, he enumerated the various taxes reduced since the year 1816, which amounted to the enormous sum of £27,522,000; yet this, far from diminishing the various sources of revenue, had rather infused into them new energy, and justified his most sanguine expectations. Such a declaration, which held out much happier prospects than could have been anticipated, was received by the house with general satisfaction; and the necessary supplies for the year were voted, though not without considerable opposition from Mr. Hume, Mr. Maberly, and some other members, regarding both the management of the national debt, and the amount of the army, navy, and civil estimates.

Alteration
 of criminal
 code.

Mr. Peel, at this period, applied the powers of his clear and dispassionate mind to the simplification and improvement of our criminal code; purifying it of many barbarous enactments and absurd technicalities, introduced when society differed widely from its present state. An important bill, for amending the law of felony, as well as the administration of criminal justice, was now carried;

but another for consolidating and amending the laws relative to larceny, and giving to judges a power of awarding costs to prosecutors in cases of misdemeanor, was, on account of the multiplicity of its details, left for consideration to another session: one clause, which Mr. Lamb endeavored to introduce into the bill, was contested by great names and with much ability on both sides; this was a proposal, which had been already more than once rejected, for allowing counsel to prisoners: the attorney-general, while he admitted that the opinion of the bar, respecting its merits, was divided, felt convinced that its effects would be injurious to the prisoner as well as to justice; for instead of a simple statement and calm examination of facts, we should have all the zeal and struggle for victory, which were usually seen in civil causes: besides, the counsel for the prosecution would always have the benefit of reply whenever a witness was called for the accused person; which might more than counterbalance any favorable effect of evidence: again, if the address of the prisoner's counsel threatened to be efficient, the judge would in many cases be compelled to animadvert on it; in doing which he might unconsciously pass the exact boundary that ought to circumscribe his remarks: then the impression would probably go forth, that the verdict of the jury had been elicited by those remarks; and the judge, instead of being, as now, counsel for the prisoner, would be almost compelled to become an advocate against him. On the other side, the absurdity of permitting counsel to start and multiply the most frivolous and visionary objections to the form and phraseology of an indictment, while they were prohibited from intermeddling with the merits and evidence of their client's case, was placed in a strong light by Mr. H. Twiss: he also displayed the hardship under which a prisoner lay, who, wishing to address the jury on the facts of a case, must do it with his own lips, under all the disadvantages of natural disability, physical impediments, or accidents of his situation; while the very

CHAP.
LXIV.

1826,

incompetency to do himself justice would be aggravated by a knowledge of the serious consequences attendant on his failure. 'As to the fiction of the judge being his counsel,' said Mr. Twiss, 'it would in most cases be found that he was counsel against the prisoner, and for the prosecutor. Whence came the only instructions which the judge received in any of these cases? from the deposition of witnesses for the prosecution: and Sir Robert Atkyns, in his notes on lord Russell's trial, had said,—'I well know by experience what sort of counsel judges usually be for a prisoner.' Usually, indeed, the jury understand the judge's charge as having a tendency to protect the prisoner from wrong; but in that respect, he becomes counsel for the prosecution: barely fair play is not enough for a man, who has for his antagonist a skilful and practised advocate.' Mr. Peel admitted that the arguments and opinions on this point were nearly balanced; but since his own experience, and the knowledge acquired from his official situation, led him to think that justice was most satisfactorily administered under the present system, he felt unwilling to risk any change. In the early part of this session, the house was occupied by a case which Mr. Denman had brought before it in the preceding year, relating to an act of great oppression exhibited by Mr. Kenrick, one of the Welsh judges, and a magistrate of Surrey: evidence on the charge was entered into; and Mr. Denman moved, that, as Mr. Kenrick had shown himself an unfit person to exercise the judicial functions, an address be presented to his majesty, praying him to remove that gentleman from the office of judge of the great session of Wales. The manner in which this question was treated by the ministerial part of the house, and in which it was negatived without a division, was no bad argument, in the mind of many unprejudiced persons, in favor of parliamentary reform.

State of the
colonies.

In the course of this session, cases of great cruelty and injustice, exercised by owners, magistrates, and judicial courts, against the slaves in our colonies,

were brought before parliament, and eloquently exposed, by Mr. Denman, Mr. Brougham, lord Suffield, and others. Instead of the less dilatory methods proposed by these gentlemen for the extinction of slavery, delay and remedial measures were suggested by lord Liverpool and Mr. Canning; the latter of whom declared, that if immediate and hasty steps were taken, our West Indian possessions would be abandoned to a state of savage desolation, of which wild speculators had not the slightest notion: at the same time, he was obliged to confess, that in most of our colonies, the exhortations sent by government for the amelioration of the condition of their slaves, had been treated with intolerable neglect and contempt: the previous question, moved by Sir T. Acland, was carried by a large majority; and thus the colonial legislatures were still allowed to show how far they were ready, by timely concessions and purposes of good faith, to avert the direct interference of the mother country in their internal regulations. The session did not pass off without some attempts at a reform of the house of commons made by lord John Russell, in a bill to prevent bribery at elections; by Mr. Abercromby, who wished to amend the representation of Edinburgh; and by Sir J. Newport, to disfranchise non-resident freemen in Ireland. Mr. Abercromby's motion was strongly opposed by Mr. Dundas and Sir G. Clerk, sitting members for the town and county of Edinburgh; as well as by Mr. Canning, who considered it as intended to undermine the barriers which resisted the inroads of a more wide and sweeping innovation: nor was the unexampled prosperity of Edinburgh, and the contentment which pervaded its population, forgotten to be brought forward, as a convincing proof of the excellence of the old system. Mr. Canning, after expatiating on the advantages connected with the Scotch representation, observed, that his objection to the present motion was its application, as a single instance of reform in a borough, to the general question: it was

CHAP.
LXIV.

1826.

CHAP.
LXIV.

1826.

not unusual, he said, to make an attack on a single borough, by an allegation of prevailing abuses; but it was quite new to institute a charge against it because its elective franchise was not proportionate to its actual population: this principle, if once admitted, would let in the general question of reform, and lead to endless squabbles: he concluded, however, with an extraordinary expression of his hopes, that the motion would be repeated annually for the innocent gratification of the noble lord (J. Russell) and those who advocated it; little thinking how near that gratification was, and how ample, if not innocent, it would be!

Before parliament broke up, measures were taken for the restoration of five Scotch peerages forfeited by rebellion in the last century: the only person who expressed disapprobation regarding these acts of grace, was lord Milton; and he avowed, that his opposition was founded, not on personal grounds, but on political considerations alone: why should not a bill be brought in for the restoration of titles against all acts of attainder passed under the present and preceding dynasties? why make a selection of forfeitures incurred for treason, not against the crown, but against the liberties of the subject? He lamented that he had not stated his objections when these bills first made their appearance in the house.

General
election.

This sixth and short session was prorogued by commission on the thirty-first of May; and on the second of June parliament was dissolved. Parties in it had chiefly followed the divisions of the cabinet: the principal of these, under the influence of the lord chancellor, supported every abuse, and opposed all attempts at change; the minority, at the head of which was Mr. Canning, declared itself favorable to every practicable improvement; while the premier held a middle course between them, agreeing with the first in little else except his repugnance to catholic emancipation, but tempering the ardor of the other by his habitual caution; commanding, however, the respect of both, by his

character for moderation and integrity. Each party was held in check by the parliamentary strength of its opponents: the whigs, hopeless of place, were reduced to the necessity of forwarding their principles through the acts of one portion of the cabinet, while the tories naturally supported the other; so that the marks of ancient opposition became almost obliterated, and the only violence exhibited, was in the conduct of a small party of radicals; but the people themselves, forgetting in a great degree political differences, contributed to render this era memorable in our annals. Under such circumstances, the dissolution of parliament did not portend many political changes: the elections were carried on with less animosity than usual; the chief topics on which candidates were tested, being the corn laws and the catholic question. In England, the duke of York's speech, and the violence exhibited in Ireland, had created a strong feeling against the catholics; but in the latter country, the association had re-appeared under a different form; and, being aided by the efforts of the priests, who identified themselves with the lay agitators, it procured the return of a large majority, pledged to support the claims of their catholic constituents. The hostile feelings of the two parties were terribly excited by this conflict: the peasantry, under the spiritual influence of their pastors, generally voted for candidates favorable to emancipation, against their own landlords; many of whom, in return, exercising their right of ejection, spread misery and indignation far and wide throughout the country. The result of a strongly contested election dispossessed the Beresford family of a seat for the county of Waterford; and this circumstance diffused a joy over Ireland, which almost consoled the sufferers for all their calamities.

The meeting of parliament, which took place on the fourteenth of November, was hastened by the necessity of obtaining its sanction for a measure,

CHAP.
LXIV.

1826.

Meeting of
new par-
liament.

CHAP.
LXIV.

1826.

Vigor of
Mr. Can-
ning's po-
licy.

which the state of the harvest had forced on government. Toward the end of August, an evident deficiency in the crops caused the prices of grain to rise above the importation limit; but the averages could not be taken, or foreign corn legally brought to market, before the fifteenth of November: ministers, therefore, in this emergency, admitted it on their own responsibility, by an order of council, on the first of September: hence the necessity of a bill of indemnity, which was passed without opposition: about the same time, ministers announced their intention of revising the corn laws, but not before the Christmas recess. The only other measure of importance which occupied attention before that period, was one which eminently signalised Mr. Canning's policy; and exhibited signs of that promptitude and vigor, both in counsel and execution, which distinguished the immortal Chatham. The state of Portugal, including an attempt made by the execrable Miguel against his father's liberty, if not against his life, and the acknowledgement of Brazilian independence by John VI., under the advice and influence of Great Britain, has been already detailed. During all this time, the French minister at Lisbon, supported by the queen and her faction, labored incessantly to deprive England of its ancient ascendancy in the Portuguese councils; attempting even to occupy the country with French troops drawn from Spain: but he was foiled by the vigor of the British government, and the presence of its naval force in the Tagus. In the spring of the present year, John VI. died, having appointed his daughter, the infant Isabella Maria, regent, in the name of his eldest son Don Pedro: he however being, by the Brazilian constitution, obliged to make his election between the two crowns, abdicated that of Portugal in favor of his eldest daughter; but, with a view of preventing a disputed succession, and following the incestuous example so long encouraged by his family, he directed that she should

espouse and share the throne with her uncle Don Miguel : at the same time, to secure the attachment of the liberal party in Portugal, while he conciliated the opposing faction, he re-modelled the ancient institutions of that country into a constitutional or representative form of government ; and of this instrument, the British minister, Sir Charles Stuart, was induced to become the bearer, on his return from the Brazilian court. This proceeding indeed of the ambassador was publicly characterised by Mr. Canning as an unauthorised interference ; but it was difficult to persuade the world that the new constitution was not framed and promulgated in concert with our government. In Portugal, it was received by the liberals with great joy, but by the absolute party with a virulent hostility, which prompted them to conspire for its overthrow, in order that their favorite, Don Miguel, might ascend the throne : in this design they were not only openly countenanced by the queen dowager, but secretly encouraged by France ; so that some Portuguese regiments were persuaded to desert into Spain, where they proclaimed Miguel, and swore allegiance to him as king of Portugal : nor was this proceeding viewed with displeasure by the Spanish monarch, who was very unwilling to see liberal institutions established in the vicinity of his realm : the rebels, therefore, were not only sheltered within his territories, but supplied and equipped by his means for the invasion of their own country ; and though, in answer to remonstrances made by the Portuguese regency and the British government on this point, he disavowed and condemned the acts of his officers on the frontier, yet the local authorities so systematically persevered in the same course, as to leave no doubt that they acted by instructions from the court of Madrid. With such assistance, the 'absolute party' became so formidable, that the existing government, as well as the constitutional cause, was in imminent danger ; and M. de Pal-

CHAP.
LXIV.

1826.

CHAP.
LXIV.

1826.

mella, Portuguese ambassador in London, applied to our government for military aid, on the faith of ancient treaties : accordingly, on the eleventh of December, the British ministers brought down a message from the king, recounting the hostile and faithless conduct of Spain, and requesting that parliament would enable his majesty to fulfil his obligations toward the oldest of his allies. The proposal for an address to the throne on this occasion, produced from Mr. Canning a speech, which may be classed among the finest efforts of that distinguished orator : in it, he not only vindicated our interference in the affairs of the peninsula, but fully developed the principles of his foreign policy : disclaiming every purpose of interfering in the internal dissensions of Portugal, or influencing the settlement of her domestic institutions, he considered England as merely called on to defend her from an invasion organised by foreign aid : after going over the provisions of subsisting treaties to prove this position, he called attention to the present relative state of Portugal and Spain ; declaring, that the vote he asked was for the defence of one country, not for aggression against the other : there was still a road open to Spain for retraction and redress ; and this would be most readily promoted by the presence of a British army on the territory of our ally. Mr. Canning next went into a detail of events relative to the acquisition of her new constitution by Portugal, disclaiming all interference on our part, and explaining the circumstance of its being brought over from Brazil by Sir C. Stuart. ‘ With respect to the character of that constitution,’ he observed, ‘ I do not think it right to offer at present any public opinion ; my own I have privately ; but, as an English minister, all I wish to say is, may God prosper the attempt made by Portugal to obtain constitutional liberty ; and may that nation be as fit to receive and cherish it, as on other occasions she is capable of discharging her duties among

European nations!’ This sentiment was received by the house with long and continued cheers; after which, he went into a detail of the aggressions of Spain, as well as her motives; expressing an earnest hope, that, on hearing of the step we were about to take, that power would act in such a manner as to render hostilities unnecessary: he had set out by declaring, that nothing short of vindicating our national honor could make him endure the thought of war; but he begged now to be understood, not as dreading war in a good cause, from any distrust of our strength and resources: it was on very different grounds that he dreaded it: it was because he knew that this country possessed a power to push any war, in which she might engage, to consequences, at the bare notion of which he shuddered. Our position at this time was not merely one of neutrality between contending nations, but between adverse principles: it was a position, which alone preserved that balance of power which was necessary for the welfare and safety of Europe. ‘Nearly four years of experience,’ said Mr. Canning, ‘have confirmed that opinion; and it is to be feared, that the next contest in Europe, if it should extend beyond the narrow limits of Portugal and Spain, will be a war of the most tremendous nature, because it will be a war of conflicting opinions; and, although this country may enter into it with a desire to mitigate and control its horrors, yet she cannot help seeing under her banners all those who are restless and dissatisfied, with or without cause, in every nation with which she may be placed at variance. The consciousness of this fact, the knowledge that we possess such a tremendous power, forces me to feel as I now feel: but it is one thing to have a giant’s strength, and another to use it like a giant: the consciousness that we have this power keeps us safe: our business is not to seek opportunities of displaying it; but so to keep it, that hereafter the world may see we knew its proper use, while we

CHAP.
LXIV.

1826.

CHAP. shrunk from converting the umpire into the op-
 LXIV. pressor—

1826.

Celsa sedet Æolus arce,
 Sceptra tenens ; mollitque animos, et temperat iras :
 Ni faciat, maria, ac terras, cœlumque profundum
 Quippe ferant rapidi secum, verrantque per auras.

The consequences of letting loose those passions which are chained up, may be such, as will lead to a scene of desolation which no one can contemplate without horror ; and such as I could never lie easy on my couch, if I was conscious of having by one hour precipitated. I would bear much, and forbear long ; I would almost put up with any thing that did not touch our national faith and national honor, rather than let slip the furies of war, when we know not whom they may reach, and where the devastation may end. Such is the love of peace which the British government acknowledges, and such the duty of peace which the circumstances of the world inculcate. In obedience to this conviction, and with the hope of avoiding extremities, I will push no farther the topics of this part of the address. Let us defend Portugal, whoever may be the assailants, because it is a work of duty ; and let us end where that duty ends. We go to Portugal, not to rule, not to dictate, not to prescribe laws : we go only to plant there the standard of England ; and where that standard is planted, foreign dominion shall not come.'

The effect of this speech on the house can hardly be described : even Mr. Brougham was charmed into unqualified admiration ; and in supporting the motion, declared, ' that the burdens of the country, however oppressive, would be borne cheerfully through the impending struggle, if war should be the result ; for now we were governed on wise, liberal, and truly English principles. The Portuguese constitution was worthy of that distinguished statesman's patronage, who had the present management of our foreign affairs : the subject had inspired his eloquence

with a degree of fervor unprecedented in effect; even (and he could not rank it higher) beyond that right honorable gentleman's former most eloquent orations. He felt, that with the strong and impregnable principles now acted on by our government, no burdens would hinder us, if the day of trial should come, from coping with a world in arms: but the day of trial would not come; the knowledge that these principles were acted on would be a security against it.'

CHAP.
LXIV.

1826.

Nothing could be more just than these observations; and the result was exactly what had been anticipated: if such principles had been extensively acted on at an earlier period, and the determination of England had been more pointedly declared in favor of constitutional governments, against the bigotry, the contempt of popular rights, and the tyranny displayed by despots, probably much human suffering, and much diplomatic confusion, would have been prevented: but such principles unhappily did not flourish in the Castlereagh school of politics.

It was fortunate for Mr. Canning's fame that his motion was combated, and an amendment proposed; for he thus became engaged in a reply, which even surpassed the eloquence of his preceding speech. Sir Robert Wilson and Mr. Baring, though they supported the address, had strongly censured government for allowing France to usurp and retain the occupation of Spain: in answer to this, Mr. Canning explained, that when the French army entered Spain, we might, if we chose, have visited that measure by a war; but such a war would not, in these days, have been the proper method of restoring the balance of power, which varies as civilisation advances, and new nations spring up: to take a leaf from the book of European policy in the times of William III. or of Anne, for supporting that balance now, would be to disregard the march of events, and to regulate our policy by a confusion of facts. 'I admit,' he said, 'that the entrance of a French army into Spain was a measure of disparagement to Great Britain—'

CHAP.
LXIV.

1826.

was a severe blow to the feelings of this country : one of the modes of redress lay in a direct attack on France, through a war on the soil of Spain ; the other was to make the possession of the Spanish territory harmless in rival hands ; to make it worse than harmless, to make it injurious to the possessor : the latter mode I have adopted. Do you think that, for the disparagement to England, we have not been compensated ? Do you think that, for the blockade of Cadiz, England has not received a full recompense ? I looked at Spain by another name than Spain : I looked on that power as Spain and the Indies ; and so looking at the Indies, I have there called a new world into existence, and regulated the balance of power ; thus redeeming the movement of France, and leaving her own act on her, unmitigated and unredressed ; so that she would now thankfully get rid of her responsibility, and shake off a burden too heavy to be borne without complaint. France would now be glad if England would assist her in dispensing with this burden ; and the only way of riveting France to the possession of Spain, would be to make that possession a point of honor. I repeat it, the object of the present expedition is not war, but to take the last chance of peace : if England does not go promptly to the aid of Portugal, Portugal will be trampled on, England will be disgraced, and then war will come ; come too in the train of degradation : if we wait until Spain have courage to ripen her secret machinations into open hostility, we shall have war ; shall have the war of pacificators ; and who can tell when that war shall end ?

Never perhaps did political eloquence obtain a brighter triumph than on this occasion : every body, but Mr. Banks and Mr. Hume, appeared touched by the sacred flame ; and when the latter gentleman's amendment was put, it received the support of only three or four members ; after which the original question was carried with that number of dissentients. On the same night, a similar address in the upper house was moved by lord Bathurst,

and seconded by lord Holland ; when even the duke of Wellington, though he lamented the necessity of interference, and endeavored to screen the *beloved* Ferdinand behind the perfidious character of his political servants, captains-general, and inferior ministers, was obliged to confess that a *casus fæderis* existed, which justified the interposition of our troops ; while he still hoped that war would be prevented, and trusted for that happy result to the cordial assistance which we might expect from France !

CHAP.
LXIV.

1826.

The general sentiment of the country seconded the unanimity which prevailed in parliament respecting this important measure ; and the prompt decision of government quickly effected the purpose intended. There was not a moment's delay : the news which made known the imminent peril of our ancient ally arrived on the eighth ; the king's message was brought to the house on the eleventh ; the discussion took place next day ; early on the fourteenth, 5000 troops, under the command of Sir William Clinton, began their march toward the coast ; the very winds of heaven seemed to favor the righteous cause ; and our first detachment appeared in the Tagus on the twenty-fifth. The treachery and dissimulation of Ferdinand instantly gave way to his fears, while the French government recalled the diplomatic instrument of its intrigues, and the independence of Portugal, with its constitution, was for a time preserved : but the movement of a British army produced not effects half so extensive or half so permanent as the speech of a British minister. Notwithstanding the penal prohibitions with which continental powers are accustomed to intrench themselves against the English press, that speech found its way over all the countries of Europe, and into the inmost recesses of despotism ; alarming the agents and abettors of tyranny, while it gave encouragement to those who were still engaged in liberating their necks from the yoke of slavery : from that time, not only the heart of the British nation, but the hope of the liberal portion of

CHAP.
LXIV.

1826,

Europe, was attached to the ministry of Mr. Canning; and though the principles of his generous policy were obscured for a time under less liberal and less enlightened administrations, yet their influence is felt at the present time, rising even to a higher tone, and assuming a still more extended range. But though sentiments in favor of Mr. Canning were making rapid progress both at home and abroad, that minister himself soon experienced the fatal effects of his popularity: the line of separation which existed between himself and a powerful section of the cabinet was now widened; while his personal assumption of superiority in the house, no less than his open patronage of popular principles, exasperated that jealous spirit with which he was regarded by the high tory party: nor did the language held by this minister, regarding Spain and her colonies, as well as France, fail to rouse the jealousy of those despotic sovereigns, who had cast their fetters round the liberties of the continent, and who began to see with alarm the revolution which was taking place in the public mind of Great Britain on this subject.

In the eastern part of Europe, the prospects of the Greeks were gloomy, though their perseverance gained for them respect among other nations. The sultan, having accommodated his differences with Russia, proceeded to dissolve the corps of janissaries, to introduce European discipline into his armies, and to reorganise the decaying system of Ottoman government: in the mean time, Missolonghi, the key of western Greece, had fallen before the murderous assaults of Ibrahim Pasha; and the national assembly made an affecting appeal to the patriotism of the nation, as well as to the generous feelings of European states. The interference of government was a task of great delicacy and difficulty; but in every christian country, the melancholy fate of Missolonghi, and the depressed condition of Greece under Ibrahim Pasha and his barbarous Egyptians, produced liberal contributions:

nor was it found difficult to negotiate loans among speculators, who became anxious to draw profit even from the distress of suffering patriots: of these resources, a considerable portion was spent in steam vessels and other ships, which never left the countries in which they were built; and in large contributions to greedy contractors, who disgusted every honest mind by the enormous rapacity which they disguised under the mask of general philanthropy.

CHAP.
LXIV.

1827.

The only event in our domestic annals which requires notice, was the opening of the suspension bridge over the Menai Strait on the thirtieth of January. This stupendous structure, projected by Mr. Telford, for the convenience of communication between Great Britain and Ireland, is, in the extreme length of its chains, from their fastenings in the rocks, about 1600 feet; and the height of the road-way from high-water line is 100: it has two carriage roads, with an intermediate footpath; and a very ingenious method is employed to counteract the expansion and contraction of the iron. The suspending power is calculated at 2016 tons, and the weight to be suspended is 342 tons; leaving a disposable power of 1674 tons. Next to the road over the Simplon, this bridge is perhaps the most surprising effort of art in Europe.

Parliament resumed its sittings on the eighth of February; another incident having occurred, during its recess, tending still farther to promote the ascendancy which Mr. Canning had acquired. The duke of York, whose health had been for more than half a year in a state of unequal though alarming danger; expired on the fifth of January; and by the decease of this prince, whose amiable disposition, frank honesty; and great services to our army induced the nation to overlook the irregularities of his private life; the duke of Clarence became presumptive heir to the crown; when ministers took that opportunity of proposing an increase of £6000 per annum to his income, as well as £3000 as a jointure to his con-

Death of
the duke
of York.

CHAP.
LXIV.

1827.

sort ; and this motion, though strongly opposed by Mr. Hume and others, on the plea that no additional expenses were entailed on his royal highness, was carried by an overwhelming majority. To have placed any other person at the head of our army, as commander-in-chief, except him who had so often led it on to victory, would not only have outraged the feelings of the nation, but even lowered the British character in the estimation of the world : accordingly, the duke of Wellington assumed that high rank with the approbation of all parties : this, however, was not generally extended to his retention of a seat in the cabinet ; since there were many, who traced that strict impartiality which had pervaded the duke of York's administration, in a great degree, to his freedom from ministerial connexions.

At the funeral of his royal highness, which was attended by all the cabinet ministers, Mr. Canning caught a severe cold, which laid the foundation of that disease which soon afterwards terminated his valuable life : he was unable to attend the opening of parliament ; and up to the fifteenth of February his state was considered dangerous : from the sixteenth, his health rapidly improved ; but on the day following, an event occurred, which, connected with the foreign secretary's illness, threw the cabinet into a state of great embarrassment : this was the sudden and alarming indisposition of lord Liverpool, who was seized with a fit of paralysis ; from the effects of which he never recovered, though the government continued to go on for a short time nominally under his guidance. As soon as the nature of this attack was known, Mr. Peel set off to Brighton to consult the king ; but Mr. Canning, though resident at that place, was too unwell to join his colleague. Before he could reach town, the other members of the cabinet had held frequent meetings, where a strong disinclination was manifested to act under the right honorable gentleman, if his majesty, in accordance with public expectation, should place him at the head of affairs. On the twenty-second, Mr. Can-

Illness
of lord
Liverpool.

ning was reported to be convalescent, and had an audience of the king: on Tuesday, the twenty-seventh, he came to town; and on the first of March, he appeared in the house, and moved for a committee on the corn laws, which had been twice postponed on his account. As expounder of the plan digested by lord Liverpool, Mr. Canning, after a speech of great length and perspicuity, proposed a scale of duties, varying in proportion to the average price of grain throughout the kingdom: sixty shillings per quarter being taken for wheat, as the point from which the grower was intitled to the protection of a high duty, twenty shillings was proposed for that purpose: if the price fell below sixty shillings, the duty was to increase in a duplicate ratio; if the price rose above that point, it was gradually to decrease, until at seventy shillings importation was to be perfectly free. No vote was taken on the resolutions when first introduced; and the debate was delayed for a week, that every semblance of precipitation regarding so important a measure might be avoided. On the eighth of March, when its discussion was resumed, the plan did not appear to please the zealots of any party: the landed interests desired a higher scale of duties; the manufacturing classes a lower; while many speculators would willingly have operated on the currency, instead of corn: after frequent debates, however, on its details, and several divisions, the ministerial scheme passed the house of commons by large majorities.

Circumstances at this time seemed peculiarly favorable to the claims of the Roman catholics; for two of their chief opponents, the duke of York and lord Liverpool, were removed by death and illness; while the influence of Mr. Canning preponderated in the cabinet: Sir Francis Burdett therefore was charged with their petition; and his speech on this occasion opened a debate in the lower house, which lasted two nights, giving full scope to the talents of its principal orators. The grand argument relied on both by the favorers and the opposers of eman-

Catholic
question.

CHAP.
LXIV.

1827.

cipation, was the interpretation of the treaty of Limerick; and Mr. Peel, whose speech made a deep impression on the house, contended, that political privileges were never contemplated by either of the parties to that treaty, which merely secured to the Roman catholics free exercise of their religion, independent of political power. With regard to the general question, Mr. Peel confessed that he distrusted the Roman catholics, on whose religious faith a scheme of political power was founded; and that he could not contemplate the doctrines of confession, absolution, and indulgences, without a strong suspicion that they were maintained for the purpose of confirming the influence which man exercises on man; nor was it of any consequence that authority be called spiritual, if it practically influences men in their social conduct. Few things he thought more improbable, than the notion that a removal of present disabilities would be a consummation of the wishes and efforts of the papists: if they gained power, they would naturally wish to better the condition of their religious system, to extend its influence over the country, and draw it into closer connexion with government: the consequence of this would be, to bring the catholic and protestant religions into collision in such a manner, as might prove the destruction of the latter: and what greater evil could be conceived than the confusion which must prevail for ages during the conflict? But although he believed that the admission of the catholic claims would endanger our constitution, yet if he were satisfied that it would restore tranquillity to Ireland, he would sacrifice his apprehensions of the ultimate result to the attainment of that immense present benefit; this however he could not make up his mind to believe. If the friends of emancipation proposed, after having carried their point, to make the religion of the great majority the religion of the state in Ireland, and open to them all its high offices, he could understand how such a line of policy might appease and tranquillise the catholics; but this they disavowed: yet,

if they proposed to maintain the protestant establishment as that of the state, there would still exist a barrier which the catholics would endeavor to remove. After animadverting on the unjustifiable extent to which the interference of catholic priests had been carried during the late elections, on the neglect shown by their prelates in restraining them, and on the extraordinary asperity of Dr. Doyle's publications, Mr. Peel concluded, with expressing the pain he felt in differing from those persons, for whom personally he entertained the most cordial respect, and with whom on almost every other topic he fully agreed: the influence of some great names, he said, had lately been lost to the cause which he supported; but he had never adopted his opinions on it from deference either to high station or to high ability, still less with a view to favor or personal aggrandisement.

Sir John Copley, master of the rolls, whose zeal in the protestant cause had gained him a seat in the house for the university of Cambridge, turned into the tide of his own eloquence copious streams from a pamphlet, which Dr. Philpotts, one of the cleverest writers of the day, had addressed to Mr. Canning; and of which the question of securities occupied a large portion. The whole matter, according to his opinion, was one of expediency; and if the concessions asked for could be granted with safety to the civil liberties and to the religious faith of protestants, he admitted that the catholics were intitled to them: with regard, however, to securities on these points, he denied that any such had been, or could be offered; while he instanced several departed statesmen, whom he termed 'a constellation of genius, knowlege, and political ability,' with Mr. Pitt at their head, who had declared in the most decisive terms their determination not to grant catholic emancipation without special and efficient securities: he even referred to the authority of the present secretary for foreign affairs himself, and of the Irish attorney-general, as having uttered senti-

CHAP.
LXIV.

1827.

ments to this effect;—that it could not be granted, unless adequate securities were given to protect the country against the danger of foreign interference.

Mr. Plunkett, the attorney-general for Ireland, who immediately answered this speech, observed, that here was a new doctrine taken up by the opponents of catholic emancipation,—that of preparing for concession by exacting securities, and declaring at the same time that no securities, which could be given, would be efficient; and he asserted, that Mr. Pitt was very unjustly placed at the head of such a school: he also contrasted with it the conduct of lord Liverpool, who had defeated the catholic bill passed by the commons in 1825, when brought into the upper house; not, however, on the ground of inefficient securities; since he had distinctly stated, that if he could discard his objections against the principle of the measure, he should not care a straw about securities; nay, that he could in half an hour frame a clause which would leave them free from all objection. Mr. Canning, who closed the debate, and who had been most pointedly alluded to throughout Sir John Copley's speech, after disposing of its argument, ironically vindicated himself for not having concerted a measure of securities with the pope of Rome; because we had not the same facilities which other courts possessed, like those of Prussia, Saxony, and the Netherlands. 'He happened to have seen in some popular tracts, that to correspond with the pope was high treason; and, therefore, when his holiness addressed a complimentary note to our present gracious king, he, as secretary of state, took the opinion of the great law officers on the subject of an answer; and they declared, that, if he did reply to the pope's letter, he would incur the penalties of a *præmunire*.' Here Mr. Canning read, amid shouts of laughter, the opinion alluded to, signed 'R. Gifford and John Copley;' on which, the master of the rolls observed, that the honorable gentleman had been reading a private and confidential communication. Mr. Canning then continued:—'It was true, he

had made this application in confidence ; but he had a right to acquaint the house with it, when he saw occasion : he, being an ignorant person, looked into Burn's Justice ; and there he found that the penalties attached to a *præmunire*, were attainder, forfeiture of goods, incapacity to bring an action, and liability to be slain by any one with impunity. As this was a matter touching life and fortune, he could not be expected, after having acquired such knowlege, to go to the pope of Rome ; and yet to the pope they must go, if they would have any security.' The master of the rolls again rose to say that the opinion was private, and the disclosure a breach of confidence ; but Mr. Canning maintained, that it was official, and that he had a right to use it ; though the circumstance had been unthought of by him, from the period at which it occurred, to a very recent time : but he had seen elsewhere an impeachment on his honor and honesty ; he had read in print¹⁸ an accusation, that he had abandoned all securities : the attack therefore was not unexpected ; though the quarter whence it now proceeded was the last from which he could have foreseen it. In this speech Mr. Canning also defended the memory of Mr. Pitt ; declaring, it was the fixed intention of that great minister to carry the catholic question ; to the truth of which assertion he was ready to depose before any tribunal : he avowed his opinion, that the cause had lost ground, in the house, as well as in the country ; but he was convinced, that all unfavorable impressions must give way to the effect of repeated discussions ; since that which right reason, humanity, and justice loudly demanded, could not fail to find an echo in the breasts of Englishmen. The present anticipations of Mr. Canning proved correct ; for the motion was lost by a majority of four in one of the fullest houses known ; the ayes being 272, and the noes 276.

In consequence of this result, the order of the day

¹⁸ He alluded to the pamphlet of Dr. Philpotts.

CHAP.
LXIV.

1827.

in the house of lords for taking into consideration the catholic petition was discharged, on the motion of lord Lansdowne; 'who feared to increase, in the present state of feeling in Ireland, the disastrous conviction, that a majority of both houses in parliament was opposed to a consideration of the claims of their catholic brethren.' This feeling however in Ireland did not lead to language more menacing or vindictive than that which had been used before the discussion. A general meeting of catholics in Dublin, after expressing 'the regret and awful forebodings' with which they viewed the vote of the commons,—a vote, which rejected the prayers 'of seven millions of oppressed, injured, and highly discontented subjects,'—exhorted the people to cultivate peace, and wait calmly the course of events, in the hope that Britain would repent and relax, 'before the catholics were driven to despair.' With much less sense and moderation, a non-intercourse act was talked of, like that which the discontented colonists of America had put into execution; but a plan to deprive Ireland of her market for linen, grain, and provisions, found very few partisans. A scheme of open and inveterate hostility against the established church, proposed by other public organs of the party, met with more numerous supporters: 'against that church,' it was said, 'must all the energies of the catholics be directed: for that church has sworn eternal enmity to the catholics; and they must register a vow against it in heaven.' The repeal of the union also became a subject of agitation; and a notion that the Irish catholics had been induced to accede to it by the prospect of emancipation, found supporters even in the house of commons. Mr. M. Fitzgerald went so far as to give notice of a motion, recommending the adoption of measures to carry into effect 'the policy of the union.' Mr. Spring Rice also gave notice of a motion for inquiry into the character of the Irish government: events, however, soon occurred, which occasioned the withdrawal of these motions, by convincing the principals concerned in

the question, that by temporary repose they were more likely to obtain their object.

CHAP.
LXIV.

The health of lord Liverpool was now in a hopeless state; but no step was taken to supply his place as premier till the twenty-eighth of March, on which day Mr. Canning was summoned by the king to Windsor. It was well known that dissensions existed in the cabinet; and that serious difficulties were created by a large portion of it, hostile in the highest degree to that gentleman; while a majority in the house of commons, as well as of the people at large, decidedly called on him to take up the mantle of Pitt, and direct the councils of Great Britain. The difficulties of forming an efficient ministry were very great, but precisely calculated to give play to motives of personal consideration, and enable an ambitious statesman to attain his object.

1827.
Difficulties
of mini-
sters.

Mr. Canning had been called to this interview merely in his capacity of privy counsellor, to assist the king in re-constructing the cabinet; and the advice which he first proffered, though it bore the appearance of great disinterestedness and self-denial, was in fact utterly impracticable; for it recommended, that a ministry should be formed, unanimous in the rejection of catholic emancipation; to forward which arrangement, he professed his own willingness to retire from office: those, however, on whom it would have thrown the responsibility of government, saw the state of inefficiency and embarrassment in which this proposition tended to involve them, and instantly rejected it. His majesty accordingly proposed to Mr. Canning, that the plan of administration should remain unchanged; some anti-catholic peer being appointed premier, to prevent such increase of adherents to the catholic cause, as a minister of that rank, being its known advocate, would necessarily promote; and also to tranquillise those members, who felt unwilling to act under any one of their own number, that had been with them a sub-

CHAP.
LXIV.

1827.

ordinate in office: to this arrangement, however, which would have excluded Mr. Canning from the grand object of his ambition, he decidedly objected; declaring, that he would never degrade himself by forming part of an administration, which considered a person entertaining those views which he entertained concerning the catholic question, as disqualified to fill the highest office in the state. This resolution, certainly not reconcilable with Mr. Canning's practical conduct since 1822, amounted to a declaration, that he would accede to no arrangement, which did not place him, or a statesman of his own school, at the head of affairs; and as he could not conceive that the party opposed to his views were less sincere in principle than himself, an inflexible adherence to such a determination put an end to every rational prospect of keeping the cabinet together: in acting on this principle, Mr. Canning in effect declared, that his services could only be secured by the highest office; for even if he had consented that another of his party should be the ostensible head of the cabinet, (and he seems at one time to have thought of Mr. Robinson) he himself, like lord Chatham on a former occasion, would have had the real power. It was perfectly natural that he should be unwilling to resign so splendid a prize within his grasp, and act in subordination to men of less imposing talents and attainments; but it is no less true that this resolution was the cause which broke up the Liverpool cabinet. Mr. Canning also knew that this would deprive him of one of his most able and influential colleagues: for when he mentioned the subject to Mr. Peel, on the twenty-ninth of March, that gentleman declared, without reserve, that a sense of duty would render resignation imperative on him, in the event of Mr. Canning, with his known sentiments on the subject of catholic emancipation, being called to the head of the ministry.

The latter part of February, as well as the whole of March, was spent in attempts to overcome these

various difficulties; while the opposition, both in parliament and from the press, aided the cause of the foreign secretary: for they felt assured, that Mr. Canning must, if appointed premier, fill up from their ranks the void occasioned by the resignation of his colleagues: the delay, however, which had taken place, impelled Mr. Tierney, who was aware of the dissensions existing in the present cabinet, and desirous of hastening its disruption, to oppose the vote of supply on the thirtieth, under pretext that there was no administration responsible for its expenditure: the attempt, though it was defeated on a division, had some effect in hastening a settlement; and, on the second of April, a cabinet meeting took place, when the discussions lasted several hours: next day, Sir T. Lethbridge gave notice for an humble address to the king, 'praying him, in his formation of an administration, to take into serious consideration the importance of its unanimity on questions affecting the vital interests of the empire: this proposal excited much derision in the house, and was abandoned by its author: but an audience of his majesty was claimed by the duke of Rutland; who, as it was confidently asserted, had been authorised by certain peers to lay before him respectfully their determination not to support Mr. Canning, if, in the exercise of his royal prerogative, he should make that gentleman prime minister: it was said also, that several meetings took place between the foreign secretary and the duke of Wellington, with the professed object of removing from the mind of the former any notion of hostility against him in the breasts of his grace and of his friends; but in reality to draw from Mr. Canning, during the course of long conferences, some expression of a wish, 'that the duke should take the government:' also it was reported, that when this scheme failed, Mr. Peel¹⁹ was commissioned, by command of his majesty, to see Mr. Canning, for

CHAP.
LXIV.

1827.

¹⁹ See Mr. Stapleton's supplementary volume.

CHAP.
LXIV.

1827.

Appoint-
ment of
Mr. Can-
ning as
premier.

the purpose of naming one, 'whose appointment would solve all difficulties;' the duke of Wellington. 'The bold plunge, however,' says an acute historian,²⁰ 'proved as fruitless as the experimental manœuvre: Mr. Canning peremptorily objected to a military premier; and on the following day, the king commanded him to propose a plan for the re-construction of the administration;' though the offer was said to have been accompanied with a proviso, to please the heads of a certain party, that the new minister should abandon all right of recommendation to church preferment: this however was resolutely refused; for Mr. Canning well knew that the general voice of the nation must prevail; and his anticipations were confirmed by an unconditional surrender of the office into his hands.

A correspondence now took place between Mr. Canning and the duke of Wellington; which, after commencing with terms of old affection and esteem, concluded with the coldest expressions of formal politeness: the duke, on the receipt of the secretary's first note, assuring him that he had been instructed by the king to form a new ministry, and soliciting his grace's co-operation, pretended not to know who was to be at the head of that ministry; and, in answer to Mr. Canning's natural expression of surprise, very laconically declined to become a member. This correspondence was laid before the king; and the duke, having sent in his resignation under feelings of considerable irritation, received a communication to the following effect from his majesty; who, from the moment when he surrendered the government into Mr. Canning's hands, persisted in supporting that gentleman with the most commendable integrity and good faith:—'The king receives the duke of Wellington's resignation with the same sentiments of regret, which his grace professes to feel in tendering it.'

The new premier, anxious to retain as many of

²⁰ Wallace's History of George IV. vol. iii. p. 301.

his former colleagues as possible, invited their adherence to an administration constructed on principles which lord Liverpool had so long sanctioned ; but Mr. Peel, pursuant to his previous declaration, that with Mr. Canning, or any other friend to catholic emancipation as prime minister, the principles of lord Liverpool's cabinet could not be established, determined to decline office : lord Eldon stated, that, on account of his advanced age, resignation had long been his wish, and required only four months to wind up the business of his court ; but the answer of a few others was not so decisive. It was now the eleventh of April ; and, as parliament would adjourn on the twelfth, it became necessary to communicate some arrangement to the house of commons : accordingly, Mr. Canning, on the morning of the twelfth, attended his majesty, who had already received resignations from the duke of Wellington, lord Westmorland, lord Bexley, and Mr. Peel ; nor had the audience lasted long, before those of lords Eldon and Bathurst also were sent in : if this had been intended for intimidation, the plot would have been laid in vain, for the king instantly confirmed Mr. Canning's appointment ; and when it was announced in the house of commons on the same evening by Mr. C. Wynne, the walls of St. Stephen's re-echoed with deafening shouts of applause : nor was the joy of the country less, or less clearly manifested ; for Mr. Canning was at this period in the zenith of his popularity : his early errors were forgotten in his recent spirited, manly, and enlightened conduct ; and his faults, which were ascribed to the prejudices of party, and even to his necessities, were all forgiven : his advance to high station by personal qualities and abilities, rather than by the patronage of an oligarchy, whose aim was to control the sovereign as well as the people, peculiarly gratified the latter ; while from his liberal domestic policy, and the European fame which he had acquired, they anticipated a worthy successor of that great minister, who may be called

CHAP.
LXIV.

1827.

Formation
of the new
cabinet.

the parent of reform ; a minister, who, if he had not been interrupted in his progress by the French war, and cut off by the too early stroke of death, would probably have been the greatest innovator recorded in our annals : for, as Mr. Canning, in one of his later speeches, asserted, in applying philosophy to politics, he merely carried into effect Mr. Pitt's declarations.

Of the old cabinet, there now remained only lord Harrowby, with Messrs. Huskisson, Robinson, and C. Wynne ; for lord Melville, to the consternation of Scotland, resigned on the evening of the twelfth ; avowing, with a remarkable spirit of candor, the instinct by which he was led—a doubt respecting the stability of the new arrangements : this, however, as it was the last vacancy made, was the first supplied ; for Mr. Canning next morning revived the dignity of lord high admiral of England in the person of the heir presumptive to the throne ; and the duke of Clarence's acceptance of office created no little dismay among those who had just thrown off the coil : so striking a sign of the times was thought not to have been lost on lord Bexley, who immediately retracted his resignation ; neither did Sir John Copley, like poor lord Melville, require any securities against the claims of competitors ; but, gladly accepted the great seal, with the title of lord Lyndhurst : lord Anglesea succeeded the duke of Wellington as master general of the ordnance, with a seat in the cabinet ; lord Dudley, Mr. Sturges Bourne, and Mr. Robinson, now created lord Goderich, were nominated respectively as secretaries for the foreign, home, and colonial departments ; lords Bexley and Palmerston, with Messrs. Huskisson and Wynne, retained their situations ; the duke of Devonshire was made lord chamberlain ; the duke of Portland, privy seal ; and lord Harrowby, president of the council : Sir John Leach, Sir Antony Hart, and Sir James Scarlett were respectively made master of the rolls, vice-chancellor, and attorney-general : the premier himself occupied, like Mr. Pitt, the two

offices of first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer. To supply several places, a negotiation had been opened with the marquis of Lansdowne; but though no official appointments at present resulted from it, his lordship, with Sir Francis Burdett and a large body of the whigs, proffered their unofficial support to Mr. Canning's administration: the king's firmness, however, was a tower of strength to the minister.

CHAP.
LXIV.

1827.

The length of time which elapsed before his majesty's decision was made, arose from a natural reluctance to part with men whom he had so long admitted into his councils, and honored with his confidence; but when their own conduct put an end to such scruples, and the dictatorial pretensions which they advanced became personally offensive, he was driven to act on his own feelings of dignity and independence, which happily coincided with the wishes of his people: nothing could have been more fortunate than such a crisis, occurring, as it did, like many others that have been noticed in this history, exactly at the proper time: a large uncompromising body of men, who stuck like leeches to the state, for the purpose of sucking its blood, were thus shaken off: so long, indeed, had they held office, that they had begun to consider their places as a species of property, and to resent any interference with them as an injury or an insult; nor was a measure of reform or public utility to be entertained for a moment, which might possibly militate against the prejudices, or curtail the emoluments of any of the party. Neither ought we to pass unnoticed the unexpected union now effected between some of the leading tories and the leading whigs; a union, which lord Mansfield characterised by a very apposite quotation from the *Anti-Jacobin*;—‘a sudden thought strikes me; let us swear eternal friendship:’ but still it was a union productive of very important results. On the twenty-seventh of April, the new ministry was gazetted; and on the thirtieth, his majesty held a court, at which lords Eldon, Westmorland, and

CHAP.
LXIV.

1827.

Bathurst, as well as Mr. Peel, severally had audiences to resign their seals of office; the duke of Wellington being the only seceder who did not attend formally for that purpose: the new ministers also kissed hands on their appointments; and Messrs. Scarlett and Hart received the honor of knighthood. Mr. Canning, on going to and returning from the palace, was loudly cheered by an assemblage far more numerous and respectable than is generally met with on such occasions: next day, he had to encounter in parliament one of the most virulent oppositions that ever assailed a minister of the crown. 'The premiership,' says Dr. Croly, 'had for twelve years been a bed of slumber: it now fell into the hands of one, who made it a bed of feverish anxiety and bitter wakefulness — George Canning, the first debater, the most dexterous politician, and the happiest wit of the house; the most perplexed, unhappy, and disappointed of ministers.'¹

¹ History of George IV. p. 472.

CHAPTER LXV.

GEORGE IV. (CONTINUED.)—1827.

Re-assembling of parliament—Explanations by the seceding members of the cabinet—Formidable opposition to the ministry—A portion of the whig party joins the administration—Rejection of the new corn bill by the lords—Financial statements—Corrupt boroughs—Improvement of the criminal code—Close of the session—Death of Mr. Canning—His character—Lord Goderich prime minister—Dissensions, and dissolution of the cabinet—Duke of Wellington appointed premier—Review of foreign policy—Treaty with France and Russia—Battle of Navarino—Meeting of parliament—Dispute between the duke of Wellington and Mr. Huskisson—State of the finances—Grant to the family of Mr. Canning—State of the currency—Budget—Repeal of the test and corporation acts—Catholic claims—Resignation of Mr. Huskisson and other members of the cabinet—Prorogation of parliament—War between Russia and Turkey—State of Portugal—Disturbances in Ireland—Recall of the marquis of Anglesea—Death and character of the earl of Liverpool—Trial and execution of Burke at Edinburgh—Opening of the London University and St. Katharine Docks—Review of foreign policy.

THE house of commons re-assembled on the first of May; but so much time had been lost through the dissolution of the old administration, and the hostility of parties now occasioned so much more to be consumed, that very little public business was completed during the session: Mr. Peel took the earliest possible opportunity to state the reasons for

Re-assem-
bling of
parliament.

CHAP.
LXV.

1827.

his late secession ; disclaiming at the same time all intention of opposing the new government, and carrying himself free from every appearance of a factious spirit. 'I retired from office,' he said, 'because, from the first moment of my public life, I have taken an active and decided part on a great and vital question,—that of the extension of political privileges to the Roman catholics: for eighteen years I have constantly offered an uncompromising, but I hope a temperate, fair, and constitutional resistance to every proposition for granting to them any farther concessions. My opposition is founded on principle: I think the continuance of those bars, which prevent the acquisition of political power by the catholics, necessary for the maintenance of the constitution, and for the interests of the established church: it is not merely, that my honorable friend differs in opinion from me on this important question; but the change in administration occasions the transfer of all that influence and power, which belongs to the office of a prime minister, into the hands of one who will use it for the purpose of forwarding an object which I have always resisted: it is not a transfer of that influence and power from one ordinary man to another ordinary man; but from the most able opponent of the catholic claims to their most zealous and eloquent advocate.' Mr. Peel then proceeded to justify the course taken by his late colleagues, who had also resigned office, as affording 'a splendid example of disinterested conduct to all public men: he vindicated them from the charge of acting in concert, or in the spirit of cabal; declaring that he himself had never held any communication with the lord chancellor, respecting the course he intended to pursue; neither did he know his lordship's intentions: the same, he believed, might be asserted of every other member of the late cabinet.

Mr. Peel's speech was received with loud cheers, and elicited much applause from Mr. Brougham, who at the same time declared his determination to support the liberal policy of Mr. Canning's administra-

tion, against any attempts of his late colleagues, and present opponents, to drive him from the helm. Mr. Canning himself then rose to explain the course of his own proceedings in a luminous and well-digested speech: 'The house,' he said, 'greatly mistakes my situation, if they believe it to be one of gratified ambition: from the beginning of the discussions on the catholic claims, I felt that the separation of my honorable friend and myself was inevitable, and not far remote. Would to God I could now persuade myself that his retirement will be but for a short time! Had the necessity, which has made the retirement of one of us inevitable, been left in my hands, my decision would have been for my own resignation, and against that of my right honorable friend: my first object was, to quit office; my next, to remain in it, with all my old colleagues, exactly on the same terms as usual regarding this very catholic question.' Mr. Canning then detailed the circumstances which preceded his appointment. 'If,' said he, 'I had submitted in my person, as an advocate of the catholic claims, to the principle of exclusion, I should have dishonored myself: such a submission would have been a badge of helotism, and an indelible disgrace to my political life.' Mr. Dawson, a brother-in-law of Mr. Peel, having vehemently attacked the junction of the whigs with Mr. Canning's ministry, their disinterested support was ably defended by Sir Francis Burdett, as likely to promote enlightened principles of government both at home and abroad; more especially the cause of religious liberty.

CHAP.
LXV.

1827.

The house of lords met on the following day; and when an opportunity was given to the ex-ministers of explaining their conduct, lord Eldon began by declaring that the accusation made against him of having attempted an unconstitutional dictation to his sovereign, was a base and scandalous falsehood: his opinion was, and always had been, that if the catholic claims were conceded, the religious liberties of this country were at an end; and that, with its

CHAP.
LXV.

1827.

religious liberties, would perish its civil freedom: holding such opinions, it was impossible that he could give into what must be the views of the new minister, whether those views were to be carried into immediate execution, or suspended for the better securing of his purpose. Could he honestly retain office under an administration formed on principles so hostile to his own? He could not allow that the new cabinet had been formed on the same principles with that of lord Liverpool, who had been as zealous, honest, and candid in opposing the catholic claims, as he had no doubt the present premier was in supporting them. As to the mode of his resignation, his lordship wholly disclaimed the imputation of having concerted it with Mr. Peel, though he professed for that gentleman sentiments of high regard and esteem.

As the duke of Wellington's retirement, not only from the administration, but from the command of the army, which was not a cabinet office, seemed to indicate hostility of a more decided character than that of the other seceders, it excited proportionally a greater degree of interest: on both points his grace entered into a full explanation of his conduct and his motives. After adverting to that abuse which had been poured on him from a press, which, if not in the pay, was under the direct influence of government, he entered on the subject of the correspondence between himself and Mr. Canning; complaining that he had not only been left with less information, but treated with less respect and deference than his colleagues: he (the duke of Wellington) was not requested to come and receive explanations concerning evident omissions in the letter first sent to him, nor was he referred to any person for information on those points; although, as he afterwards learned, his colleagues had been invited to go to the minister, and receive any explanations which they might require—or the minister himself had gone to them for such a purpose: still he determined that no pique of this kind should stop an amicable com-

munication; and in that spirit he carried on the correspondence; in that spirit he wished to contrive means of continuing in his majesty's councils: but when he found that the right honorable gentleman himself was to be at the head of affairs, he considered whether he could, consistently with his avowed principles, join the new administration; and finding it to be impossible, he felt obliged to decline office. With regard to the question which he had put to Mr. Canning on this point, and which was said to have given offence;—'Those,' said his grace, 'who formed part of lord Liverpool's cabinet knew well what it was to which they pledged themselves; for they knew that his lordship was conscientiously opposed to all changes in the existing form of government: but those who coalesce with the right honorable gentleman, can have no idea how far this coalition may carry them: the right honorable gentleman is the most able, active, and zealous partisan of those changes with which the country is at present threatened: the principles of the noble earl were principles by which any man might safely abide; the principles of the right honorable gentleman fluctuate every day.' Who could have supposed, that, within the short space of two years, the duke of Wellington's cabinet would have repealed the test acts, and granted catholic emancipation; whilst its leader declared that an adherence to lord Liverpool's principles would introduce all the horrors of civil war into the realm? But until governments take a more active part in forming public sentiment, and leading public opinion, they must ever be subjected to these mortifications: if statesmen rely too much on mere executive duties, on the formation or strengthening of parties, and on the preservation of old institutions, under circumstances and times totally different from those in which such institutions were established, the current of public intelligence will run rapidly by them, and force the most violent changes on the government, with which they ought to have originated.

CHAP.
LXV.

1827.

Before the duke of Wellington concluded this part of his explanation, he adverted to the motives which had been imputed to him, of resigning office because he was not made prime minister himself; on which occasion was heard his memorable declaration,—‘that he not only felt himself unwished for, but actually disqualified for any such station; that to have accepted it in place of the military office which he already held, would have argued him mad, or worse than mad.’ With regard, however, to his recent resignation even of that military post, his grace observed;—‘that although not a cabinet office, yet it was one which placed its possessor in a constant and confidential relation with the king and his government: with the prime minister the commander-in-chief is in communication every day; he has not a control even over the army, the chief direction of which is placed in that minister’s hands: at the same time, the premier himself cannot withdraw any part of the army from a foreign station without consulting the commander-in-chief; he cannot make up his budget, or introduce any reform into the organisation of the army, without seeking his opinion. No political sentiments, however, would have prevented him from retaining this office under ordinary circumstances; but from the tone and tenor of the communications he had received from his majesty, from the nature of the invitation given to him by the right honorable gentleman in his first letter, and from the contents of the last which he had received from Mr. Canning by his majesty’s command, he saw that he could not remain with credit to himself or advantage to the country: his line of conduct had not been hastily adopted, though he had been most wantonly and unjustly abused.’

The other seceding peers justified their retirement generally on the same ground of political principle which had been taken by the duke of Wellington; except that lords Melville and Bathurst expressed an opinion, that with the chasm left by the secession of such men as the duke of Wellington, lord

Eldon, and Mr. Peel, no administration could be formed possessing sufficient stability and capacity for the government of the country : lord Bexley assigned his resignation to the fear of not being allowed freedom of opinion regarding a vital question ; and justified his resumption of office, by the discovery that he had been in error on that point : all the noble lords, however, expressly disclaimed the idea of concert or confederacy in their plans ; though the coincidence was suspicious, and they acknowledged its singularity.

CHAP.
LXV.

1827.

Viscount Goderich, who had the task of defending the new administration in the upper house, declared, that so far from casting any imputation of conspiracy and cabal on his former colleagues, he verily believed, that if there had been more communication among them, much of the mischief and disorder which had occurred might have been prevented. If the government, as at present constituted, was not altogether satisfactory, that was not the fault of him and of his honorable and noble friends : the object of Mr. Canning had been to keep the elements of the late ministry together ; but they had fallen away without any fault of his. Was he then, in such a case, to say to his majesty, ' I will run away also, and leave you in such a predicament, as no sovereign was ever placed in before ?'

As the chief strength of the seceders lay in the house of lords, the desultory warfare that ensued was principally confined to that region. The marquis of Lansdowne defended the junction of his party with the ministry, as not occasioned by any sudden impulse, but by the identity which existed between its principles, and the spirit of those measures which government had been for some time pursuing in their foreign and domestic policy : he admitted to their fullest extent the reasons which noble lords had given for their own resignations, and the manner in which they had accounted for so remarkable a coincidence ; but he could not help expressing surprise that government had been able

Formidable
opposition
to the mi-
nistry.

CHAP.
LXV.

1827.

to go on so long ; having been conducted, as it now appeared, by ministers, who did not think proper to communicate with each other on the most important question by which they could be interested.

Other noble lords spoke with less decorum, and indulged in more personalities than the principal parties concerned : among these, lords Mansfield, Winchelsea, and Ellenborough were especially distinguished, though their hostility to ministers rested on distinct grounds ; for lord Ellenborough, as a friend to catholic emancipation, thought their appointment was fraught with fatal injury to that question : nothing, he said, had advanced the catholic claims so much as discussion ; yet now all discussion was to be abandoned. The other two peers expressed a determination of bringing the principles of the new cabinet at once to the test ; and gave early notice of motions on the catholic question, as well as on the state of the nation ; neither of them, however, was brought to a hearing ; and the retired ministers exhibited as little concert when out of office, as they had displayed in their resignation : no systematic opposition was organised ; no regular plan of tactics pursued ; no leader of eminence selected : Mr. Peel kept studiously aloof from the inconvenience of being placed in such a situation ; and the task of administering castigation to the cabinet fell principally on Sir Thomas Lethbridge, who was unfortunately deficient in fluency of speech. Frequent interrogations were put to Mr. Canning, with a view of drawing out from him what was supposed to be the secret history of his administration ; but he at last positively refused to give any answer, unless the matters aimed at were regularly brought forward by motion : there was consequently much vituperation, but very little elucidation of facts.

The same desultory system of hostility was pursued in the house of lords ; but there the condemnation of the coalition was more loudly and vehemently expressed. The duke of Newcastle, in

presenting a petition against the corn laws, called on every honest man and friend to the country, to assist in expelling from office 'the most profligate minister that ever was in power.' Lord Londonderry declared, that 'when he looked at the building which had been erected, he found it divested of all its main pillars, and constructed merely of a sort of rubbish: the artificer had shown great dexterity in forming it; nor could he have found out such a mass of *rubbish* in any other quarter, composed as it was of the two parties: he had made a dexterous effort to un-whig a portion of the whigs, and to un-tory a part of the tories.' Lord Goderich acknowledged the compliment paid to himself; but lord King, in a happier mood, retorted on the noble marquis, by informing him, 'that every person practically acquainted with building, understands by the term rubbish, that portion of the materials which is *sent away*.' The most powerful assistance, however, on the side of the seceders, was found, where they little expected it, in lord Grey; who, determining 'to stand by his order,' formally announced his want of confidence in the new ministry. Though he gave to the members of his party, coalescing with that ministry, credit for their disinterestedness, he could see nothing in it which called for his support: it was said to be formed on the principle of lord Liverpool's administration; but that consisted in the exclusion of the catholic question: was the same then, he asked, the principle of the present government? Was the catholic question to be prohibited as a cabinet measure? If so, his determination was taken. The whole political career of the new premier was then reviewed by his lordship, who expressed himself opposed to every part of it; and Mr. Canning's noted declaration of calling into existence the republics of the new world was attacked with considerable severity. But he was said to be a friend to civil and religious liberty: true, he supported catholic emancipation, and at the same time proclaimed his opposition to a repeal of the test and

CHAP.
LXV.

1827.

corporation acts : he would not dwell on his known opposition to parliamentary reform ; for that question, he would admit, had not been so uniformly supported, nor had it at present public opinion so strongly in its favor, as that any one should make it a *sine qua non*, in joining an administration : but he could not conceal from himself the fact, that within a few years, numerous laws had been passed hostile to civil liberty, every one of which had received the right honorable gentleman's assent ; and unless he could retrace his steps, and erase some that still remained in the statute-book, no confidence ought to be reposed in him as a friend to civil liberty. Nothing could be farther from his (lord Grey's) intention, than to combine with the opponents of government, from whom he differed, on most questions, as widely as the poles were asunder ; neither could he join those who supported it : the only course therefore left to him was, to pursue the same principles which he had professed through life ; and when he found the measures of government agreeing with those principles, to give them his support ; when repugnant, to meet them with his opposition. ' This,' says Mr. Wallace, ' was an unexpected and serious blow ; for it shook the confidence of the public in the new arrangements : it was such a blow, as lord Chatham, by a deliberative formal declaration of the same kind, gave to the first Rockingham administration. The two cases have a striking resemblance : both ministries were partial conquests over an exclusive and vicious system of government ; both had to contend with a court oligarchy, and an adverse bias in the mind of the sovereign ; in both cases there was a present compromise of principles with a view to their future triumph ; while a certain analogy of public station and personal character warrants the supposition, that lord Grey, like lord Chatham, was influenced by personal ambition and impatient pride : the effect, however, was chiefly felt by his own party, the whig allies of Mr. Canning : the uncompromising consistency,

high ground, and stately solitude of lord Grey, gave a seeming air of littleness and desertion to those who had left his side to group themselves behind the minister.²

CHAP.
LXV.

1827.

Soon after Mr. Canning's elevation, the king's declaration to the archbishop of Canterbury and bishop of London, 'that he was as firmly fixed as his father had been, in opposition to the pretensions of the papists,' was made public to a meeting of prelates at Lambeth palace, and announced by the bishop of London in the house of lords: it became evident therefore that this was a measure not to be forced. The repeal of the test and corporation acts was another subject, with the compromise of which the whigs were reproached; but neither was this urgent: so that every question, which could have brought any party in the coalition to the test, and discovered how far they were inclined to compromise their opinions on matters concerning which great difference was known to exist among them, was avoided; and under these circumstances, some of them took office, near the close of the session, when the minister became firmly seated: thus lord Lansdowne was appointed secretary for the home department; lord Carlisle, privy seal; and Mr. Tierney, master of the mint. The whigs, in fact, were too weak to carry the measures which they most anxiously desired; so they determined to wait their proper time, until the power of that minister, who had loosened the bands of tory domination, should be consolidated; and it was therefore thought prudent to drop all questions which might bring his strength to a test too rude. They never professed to abandon catholic emancipation, the repeal of the test and corporation acts, or parliamentary reform: it was only to secure ultimate success for those measures, that they resolved not to press them immediately, while they supported a premier, who, in some respects, was opposed to them. This ap-

² History of George IV. vol. iii. p. 309.

CHAP.
LXV.

1827.

peared the only method of breaking up that immense power which the tory party had acquired, and of introducing eventually what they considered improvements in the social system: their policy was marked out by the peculiarity of their situation.

The opposition also now received a more regular form and abler direction; when Mr. Peel, laying aside the tone of moderation and urbanity which he had previously assumed, gave indications of a decidedly hostile spirit; on which occasion, Mr. Canning declared, that 'he rejoiced to see the standard openly raised; since he always preferred direct hostility to hollow professions or pretended neutrality;' and the cheers with which this declaration was received in the house, showed the progress of liberal opinions among the commons of Great Britain.

In the house of lords, however, where the tories were more numerous and more adroit, the new corn bill, which had been sent up before the recess, furnished them with an opportunity of triumph. Although this measure had originated in the late cabinet, and came recommended by the approbation of lord Liverpool, an amendment was moved by the duke of Wellington, for which he professed to have the sanction of Mr. Huskisson; prohibiting the removal of foreign corn from bond until the price of wheat should have reached sixty-six shillings a quarter;³ and this proposal, though completely at variance with the principle of the bill, which provided for the admission of corn at all times on payment of a duty proportionate to the averaged market price, was supported by the high tory party, as well as by many peers, who preferred their own interests as landowners to any considerations of commercial policy; so that ministers were left in a minority of 122 to 133; and the bill, when

³ A misunderstanding and long correspondence on this subject arose between the duke and Mr. Huskisson; the latter of whom declared, that the consent given by him applied only to corn already in bond, or that might be in bond, when the law came into operation; a permanent restriction, like that contained in the amendment, never having been contemplated by him.

returned to the commons thus shackled, was eventually rejected: but as some expedient became necessary to prevent a recurrence of that alarm which had arisen last year, on account of scarcity, a temporary bill was prepared, and suffered to pass both houses, permitting the release of foreign corn from bond, on the same scale of duties as that proposed by the measure just abandoned.

CHAP.
LXV.

1827.

On the first of June, Mr. Canning brought forward the statement of supplies, &c., in his new character as minister of finance. The public accounts, though they presented but few novel features, were prepared and explained with a degree of ability and candor, which secured the confidence both of the house and of the country. By a review of income and expenditure during the last four years, it appeared, that on an expenditure of £230,000,000, including the annual sinking fund of £5,000,000, there was an apparent deficiency of £1,265,687; but against this was to be placed the amount of advances from the exchequer, either in loans to carry on public works, or for beneficial purchases, which the public had in possession as available securities for repayment: the amount of excess in the advances for the four years was near £2,000,000; so that in fact there remained, as a real surplus of income beyond expenditure, something more than £1,100,000. The minister having suggested the propriety of providing for this temporary deficiency by an issue of exchequer bills, the proposal was readily admitted; and the supplies for the year, amounting to £57,500,000, including the sinking fund, were voted without opposition.

Financial
statements.

As is usual in the first session of a new parliament, the reports of election committees disclosed scenes of gross corruption. Colonel Maberly and Mr. Sykes brought before the house samples of this from the boroughs of Northampton and Leicester, where enormous sums, abstracted from corporation funds, had been expended in defraying the expenses of candidates; but such an application of public

Corrupt
boroughs.

CHAP.
LXV.

1827.

money was defended by Mr. Peel, and motions for committees of inquiry were negatived by considerable majorities: two boroughs, however, appeared so pre-eminent in dishonesty, that the most determined advocates of the old system could not wholly ward off retributive justice. A petition had been put in against the return for Penryn; and though corrupt practices could not be traced to the sitting members, yet such enormities were disclosed, that Mr. Legh Keck, chairman of the committee, was impelled by a sense of duty to bring forward certain resolutions, in which he was supported by the whole house, with the exception of the sitting members; and even they rather asserted their own personal purity, than denied the actual existence of the alleged corruption. Mr. Keck's motion was accordingly assented to; and a bill was brought in for the more effectual prevention of bribery and corruption in that borough, which had received some very severe rebukes in the years 1807 and 1819. A difference of opinion prevailed regarding the remedy to be applied, or the punishment inflicted: Mr. Keck himself proposed, not the disfranchisement of the borough, but merely an extension of its elective franchise to the adjoining hundreds; while lord John Russell wished the example of disfranchisement set in the case of Grampound to be followed up, and the elective privileges of Penryn transferred to some populous and unrepresented town: he therefore moved, as an amendment, 'that the borough be excluded hereafter from returning burgesses to serve in parliament.' The original motion was supported by the ministry; for Mr. Canning himself thought a verdict of guilty must be given, although sufficient guilt had not been proved to warrant extreme punishment: the amendment, however, supported by lord Althorp, lord Milton, Mr. Brougham, and others, who declared that mercy to Penryn would be extreme injustice to every other disfranchised borough, and that a transfer of its privileges to the adjoining hundreds would

merely bestow them on a few wealthy individuals, was carried by a majority of 124 to 69.

CHAP.
LXV.

1827.

With regard to East Retford, the election had been declared void by the committee, on evidence of general and notorious bribery; the house accordingly resolved, that no writ should issue until that evidence had been taken into consideration: the result was, that leave was given for a bill of disfranchisement; and, as Manchester was generally looked to as a recipient of the forfeited privileges of Penryn, so Birmingham was contemplated as the place to which those of East Retford might be transferred. The session however closed before any efficient proceedings took place with regard to either of these boroughs: yet the facts elicited by the investigation disclosed a scene of extensive corruption; and the conduct of that party which favored the old system, and which, by screening or palliating such corruption, prevented the transfer of their forfeited privileges to those towns which had a strong claim to parliamentary representation, brought the question of reform in the house of commons almost to a close. Nothing can be more unjust toward the whigs, than to accuse them of precipitating that measure, or of designing to introduce into the constitution changes so extensive as those which ultimately were effected: their constant aim and their reiterated efforts were to reform parliament gradually; to punish known instances of corruption; and gradually to extend the elective franchise, until it comprehended a larger portion of our population, and satisfied those whose voice could be no longer stifled: but their opponents constantly met them with all the obstacles and prejudices which arise from self-interest, as well as a mistaken view of the constitution: and perhaps there never was a doctrine which did more injury to the cause of its professors, than that which converted the elective franchise, a sacred trust given to a portion of the community for the benefit of all, and which in its origin was thought a burden rather than a pri-

CHAP.
LXV.

1827.

Improve-
ment of
criminal
code.

vilege, into a species of private property, convertible to the direct profit of those in whom it was invested, to be dealt with as tenderly, and paid for as punctually, as the land which descends to a person from his ancestors. The pernicious effects and special deformity of this doctrine, when carried out to its full extent, were perceived in many of those Augean stables, which were subsequently swept out by the besom of municipal reform.

Mr. Peel, though he had resigned office, still proceeded with his unostentatious improvements of the criminal code; and five acts passed, which consolidated into one body the whole law regarding offences against property, purified from an incredible quantity of ancient rubbish, and advantageously simplified in all its arrangements. The first of these five acts repealed about 137 different statutes, wholly or in part, commencing with the charter *de foresta* of Henry III.: the second removed doctrines, which had been hitherto an encumbrance to the statute book, or laid down general rules applicable to the whole criminal code: it intirely abolished the benefit of clergy in cases of felony; appointed certain punishments for offences, to which no special statute affixed any particular penalty; relieved the discharged prisoner from severe official expenses; and purified the law from a load of obscure verbiage: the third contained the law of offences against property in its new and simplified form; bringing the various species of crime into one view; assigning to each its plain description, with its precise punishment; and removing distinctions which had often given origin to embarrassing doubts: it abolished the distinction between grand and petty larceny; defined clearly the crime of burglary; while it removed many subtilties regarding 'possession,' and the 'conversion of possession,' in the law of embezzlement, as well as in the wire-drawn distinctions of larceny and fraud; it also mitigated the rigor of the penal law, while it recognised four classes of punishments, in the first of which only

was that of death; the crimes being distinctly set forth to which each was applicable: the fourth of this series of statutes comprised those offences, which consist, not in feloniously appropriating the property of another, but in maliciously injuring it; and while it reserved capital punishment for arson, for the demolition of buildings or machinery by rioters, for showing false lights to a vessel, &c., it left other kinds of injury to be repaid by transportation or imprisonment: altogether, the number of capital offences was considerably diminished; in many cases also a summary mode of procedure was introduced, to save various petty offenders, or supposed offenders, from long imprisonment, before the charges against them could be brought before a grand jury: the last statute regulated the redress to be sought from the hundred by persons whose property had been injured during riots, and laid down the mode of applying for such remuneration.

The close of the session, on the second of July, was soon followed by a public calamity, which again dismembered the government, and disappointed all those hopes, which the genius and enlightened principles of Mr. Canning had raised in the British nation. Parliament had no sooner separated, than this able minister issued orders to the heads of different departments, that they should transmit to him accurate and detailed accounts of the expenses connected with their several establishments, with a view to the reduction of our national burdens: on the fifteenth of July he became seriously indisposed; but after a few days of rest, he determined to resume his official duties, notwithstanding the remonstrances of his medical attendants: on the twenty-fifth, he retired, for change of air, to the beautiful seat of the duke of Devonshire at Chiswick: but the fatigues and cares of office, with the desertion and bitter hostility of his ministerial colleagues, acting on a frame naturally irritable, and enfeebled by recent illness, hastened his dissolution, just when the ebullition of that hostility

CHAP.
LXV.

1827.
Death of
Mr. Can-
ning.

Character
of Mr. Can-
ning.

was contributing to develop his genuine constitutional principles. His disease terminated in a severe inflammation of the bowels ; and, after suffering the most excruciating tortures, he breathed his last, on the eighth of August, in the same room where his great predecessor, Charles James Fox, expired : he was buried in Westminster Abbey, at the foot of Mr. Pitt's grave ; and his funeral, though private, was attended by a large concourse of noble and estimable personages, among whom there was scarcely one, to whom the illustrious deceased was not endeared by the ties of relationship, or by the recollections of friendship and kindness.

The public character of Mr. Canning was clearly seen in the altered policy of our government, both foreign and domestic, during his connexion with the Liverpool administration : his ambition, like that of Chatham, to whom as a minister and statesman he bore the nearest resemblance, was lofty and imperious ; but it was directed to noble ends ; to the glory of his own country, and the advancement, through her greatness, of the best interests of other nations : his anxiety was, that all should benefit, not only by her commercial prosperity, but by the blessings of her constitution ; and when he was constrained to wield her thunders, it was only to check the spirit of despotic tyranny, and to keep Great Britain in her natural sphere, as the protectress of those who aspired to freedom. He exhibited a splendid contrast to certain characters of the present day ; who, having entered on public life as the advocates of liberal and patriotic sentiments, have degenerated into bigoted defenders of antiquated opinions, and selfish supporters of intolerable abuses : Mr. Canning, on the contrary, though party introduced him into the senate, and tory principles long secured to him a place in the administration, gradually imbibed, and became insensibly influenced by, the free spirit of the British constitution ; until at length, enlightened by experience, he cast off the trammels of that oligarchy, with which early am-

bition had associated him, but to which he owed no natural allegiance. Being determined to uphold the noble fabric reared by our forefathers, he contemplated with horror any attempt to endanger its foundation, or to alter its character; but when he found that the principles which he once professed began to threaten its safety, he abandoned them as far as he thought expedient; and, conciliating his political opponents without submitting to their dictation, he availed himself of their assistance to carry on his measures of regeneration. England regretted in him the most accomplished orator that the enlightened spirit of the age had yet produced; and the liberal portion of Europe mourned over the loss of his moral influence, as a calamity to the world at large. The effects of his death were almost immediately felt in the affairs of Portugal, and the settlement of those great political interests, which were involved in the independence of Greece, and the impending rupture between Russia and the Porte: the cabinet, however, which Mr. Canning had formed, resolved that they would attempt to conduct the government without any other change, except that distribution of offices, which his lamented death made necessary: lord Goderich therefore became first lord of the treasury; being succeeded by Mr. Huskisson, as head of the colonial department; while the duke of Wellington, heedless of public opinion, which knew not how to reconcile his resumption of office with the declaration that personal pique had no influence on his resignation, accepted the command of the army, but without a seat in the cabinet. The place of chancellor of the exchequer was still vacant; and was understood to have been declined by Messrs. Huskisson and Tierney, because they wished for the appointment of lord Althorp; but the nomination of Mr. Herries, a treasury clerk, brought up in the Vansittart school, and in the decided interest of the tories, took all the whig members of the cabinet by surprise. Lord Lansdowne, understanding that this

CHAP.
LXV.

1827.

Admini-
stration of
lord Gode-
rich.

CHAP.
LXV.

1827.

selection was made at the dictation of the king, tendered his resignation : on being assured, however, that the recommendation came from lord Goderich himself, and being graciously requested by his majesty, who was anxious to avoid the fatigue of new arrangements, not to precipitate a dissolution of the present ministry, his lordship consented to retain office ; but though he wished to strengthen his own party by introducing lord Holland into the administration, this suggestion was overruled.

It soon became manifest, that the cabinet had lost, with its great leader, all those preservative qualities which it once possessed ; and lord Goderich, a man of unquestionable integrity, who, like the Roman emperor, would have been thought worthy of power had he not obtained it, showed himself lamentably deficient in that energy, judgment, and firm resolution, which was wanted to keep together the discordant elements of his administration : this plainly appeared, when he proposed to redeem a pledge given by his predecessor, to appoint a committee for the investigation and reform of our finances, in the ensuing session of parliament. As it became necessary to fix on a chairman for this important measure, Mr. Tierney, the most active member in the whig section of the cabinet, proposed lord Althorp, as a man whose honor and independence were unimpeachable : lord Goderich expressed no objection ; but, observing that the appointment principally concerned the house of commons, referred Mr. Tierney to Mr. Huskisson, its ministerial leader ; and no objection having been made in that quarter, lord Althorp was applied to, and his consent obtained : the subject, however, by some oversight or intention, had not been mentioned to Mr. Herries, who, as chancellor of the exchequer, was more immediately concerned in the proposed investigation ; and who naturally felt himself intitled to have the initiative in affairs connected with his own department : but it was only on the twenty-eighth of November, that Mr. Herries, calling at the

colonial office, accidentally saw a list of the committee and its chairman, drawn out by Mr. Tierney : on the subject being discussed, the chancellor of the exchequer was thought to have acquiesced in the appointment ; but subsequently, speaking in his place, he denied this to have been the case ; declaring, that, with unfeigned respect for the private character of lord Althorp, he objected to his nomination as chairman of the finance committee : at all events, not more than twenty-four hours elapsed, before he saw lord Goderich, and informed him, that, after maturely considering lord Althorp's political views, and decided opinions on finance, he must resign office, if it were determined to persevere in the appointment : on the other hand, the retention of Mr. Huskisson, who considered himself pledged to lord Althorp, became involved in the question, and occasioned no little annoyance to the premier. About the same time also, news of the victory of Navarino came to embarrass still farther this distracted ministry ; so that lord Goderich, wearied with his situation, and deadened, as it was said, to ambition by the loss of an only child, determined to resign : accordingly, on the eighth of January, he went down to Windsor, laid his difficulties before the king, and dissolved an administration, to which his majesty declared he would have been true, if its members had been true to themselves.

CHAP.
LXV.

1827.

The duke of Wellington was then commissioned to reconstruct the cabinet ; and, with the exception of lord Eldon, who was at length invalided, the Liverpool administration was recalled to the sweets of office. His grace himself, relinquishing the office of commander-in-chief to lord Hill, presided over the treasury ; Mr. Peel succeeded lord Lansdowne in the home department ; and lords Bathurst and Ellenborough became respectively president of the council, and keeper of the privy seal ; viscount Melville and the earl of Aberdeen were made president of the board of control, and chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster ; while lord Lyndhurst as chancellor, Mr.

Duke of
Wellington's admi-
nistration.

CHAP.
LXV.

1827.

Huskisson and earl Dudley as colonial and foreign secretaries, lord Palmerston as secretary at war, and Mr. C. Grant as president of the board of trade, all retained their seats in the present arrangement: Mr. Goulburn succeeded Mr. Herries as finance minister; but the removal of this latter gentleman to the mastership of the mint was considered by the whigs as a proof that he had undertaken his former office from other motives than qualification or choice: all circumstances however considered, that party had much more reason to complain of their own colleague, Mr. Tierney. The friends of the late minister, especially Mr. Huskisson, lost character with the public by thus clinging to place; but the duke of Wellington, who had taken office, notwithstanding his own declaration of aversion and incapacity, soon showed that the latter disqualification at least was visionary.

Review of
foreign
policy.

While the Goderich administration was tottering to its fall, the foreign policy bequeathed to it by Mr. Canning occasioned difficulties, with which his feeble successors were incompetent to contend. In the present complicated relations subsisting between European states, it is always difficult, and often impossible, to unravel the thread of general politics: but as far as regards the interference of christian powers in the affairs of Greece, under Mr. Canning's auspices, the common cause of humanity seems to have had more influence than usual on diplomatic counsels: not only the commerce of the Levant was destroyed by the present state of warfare, but all christendom was scandalised by the atrocious cruelties, which the Turks exercised on those whom they designated as rebels against their authority: such a state of things could not be suffered any longer to exist; yet it is doubtful how far the sympathy of British, and especially of French statesmen, would have carried them, had they not received intimation, that the emperor Nicholas was preparing to step in at the very crisis, when the horrors inseparable from a reconquest of Greece

would have sanctified his ambition in the eyes of Europe. Teased by importunity, and desirous of abridging unpleasant discussions, the Reis Effendi put into writing the ultimatum of the Porte, and sent it on the tenth of June to all the christian legations: this paper, though obscured by an oriental prolixity of style, contained much acute reasoning, which could hardly be refuted on the common principles of diplomacy, whilst it announced the sultan's firm resolution to avoid that irreparable breach in his European dominion, which the acknowledgement of Grecian independence would produce; so that the only option left to the mediating powers, was that of desisting from their project, or supporting it by an armed force: accordingly, on the reception in London of the Turkish note, the celebrated treaty of the sixth of July, 1827, was signed by the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain, France, and Russia. It contained only one stipulation that was not embodied in the protocol of St. Petersburg; namely, that the Greeks should become possessors of the landed property situated in their own islands and mainland, on the condition of indemnifying its Mussulman proprietors: an additional article provided, that if, within the term of one month, the Ottoman Porte did not accept their intervention, the high contracting powers would establish commercial relations with Greece, and order the admirals commanding their naval forces to impose an armistice on the belligerents. Instructions, drawn up by common consent, authorised those commanders to prevent the transmission of troops and supplies from Turkey or Egypt to Greece; but enjoined them studiously to avoid hostilities, unless the Turks should try to force a passage: at the same time, while despatches were sent to the ambassadors at Constantinople, and to the Greek government, colonel Cradock set out on a mission to Alexandria, for the purpose of persuading the pasha to withdraw his Egyptian army. As it was arranged that a com-

CHAP.
LXV.

1827.

CHAP.
LXV.

1827.

bined fleet should give effect to these resolutions, two line of battle ships were sent from this country to reinforce Sir Edward Codrington, whose flag was hoisted on board the *Asia* of eighty-four guns: the French government sent into the same seas four ships of the line; and admiral Siniavin arrived at Spithead with a Russian squadron of eight sail of the line and eight frigates; but his force being out of proportion to that of England or France, half of it returned to Cronstadt, and rear admiral count Heyden carried the remainder to join the confederates.

History scarcely records a public act more generally applauded throughout the civilised world, than the treaty of the sixth of July; but it was urged in vain by the christian ambassadors on the divan, as well as by the allied admirals on the Turkish commanders: the Reis Effendi would not deign to receive any such communication; and when a copy was left on his sofa, he pertinaciously refused to answer it, or to admit any explanations: the Russian minister now proposed to starve the divan into compliance by a joint blockade of the Bosphorus and Hellespont; when the French minister stated the ready concurrence of his court: but lord Dudley, as if to show how feeble hands can mar the projects of combined wisdom and moderation, objected, on the part of England, to such a step, as too violent; and this objection led to the speedy destruction of the Turkish navy. Had Mr. Canning fortunately lived, he would no doubt have adapted his ulterior measures to the exigency of circumstances; and would probably have acquiesced in prince Lieven's suggestion, as the surest means of stifling the flames of war. In the mean time, the Turks could not comprehend what secret spell it was, which linked France and England with that great northern power, to whose schemes of aggrandisement they had been constantly opposed; and thus, while three of the four cabinets were agitated with doubt and apprehension, they

were suddenly startled in this state of suspense by ominous sounds proceeding from the bay of Navarino.

CHAP.
LXV.

1827.
Battle of
Navarino.

In that harbor, celebrated for one of the most remarkable incidents in ancient history, the Turkish and Egyptian fleets were blockaded by the combined squadrons of England, France, and Russia, under the chief command of Sir Edward Codrington. The Greeks had readily accepted an armistice under the treaty ; but Ibrahim Pasha not only refused its terms, but aggravated all those miseries of war which the unhappy country had experienced at his hands ; burning whole villages, after he had massacred their inhabitants ; and cutting down vineyards and olive-trees, in which the principal riches of the nation consisted ; irritated by such conduct, the allied admirals determined to enforce the armistice on this marauder ; but if they thought the presence even of their formidable armament calculated to produce submission from the Turks, they greatly mistook the character of that people. About noon, on the twentieth of October, the European fleet prepared for action, but without professing hostile intentions, and steered into the bay ; the British squadron leading ; the French, under admiral de Rigny, following it ; and the Russians bringing up the rear. The Mahometans, who were on the alert, and had drawn up their flotilla in a crescent with springs on its cables, immediately made up their minds that the allies came to attack them ; and the Capitana Bey observed to his colleagues—‘ The die is now cast : I told you the English would not be trifled with.’ Such being the disposition on both sides, a conflict was inevitable. With regard to the respective strength of the antagonists, that of the allies amounted to twenty-six ships, carrying 1324 guns ; and that of the Turks to seventy-nine ships of war, armed with 2240 guns, beside those in the formidable batteries on shore : but as the Mussulmen had only three two-deckers, and their opponents had ten sail of the line, the latter can hardly be said to have

CHAP.
LXV.

1827.

fought at a disadvantage. The fire commenced on the enemy's side; for when the British admiral despatched one of his pilots to the flag-ship of the Turkish commander, expressing an earnest desire to avoid all effusion of blood, the messenger was wantonly shot at, and killed; nor was it long before the same vessel fired also into the *Asia*, which promptly returned the compliment: the conflict then became general; and though at sea it would probably have been quickly decided, it now raged four hours, and was carried on with great obstinacy and slaughter. The English bore the brunt of the engagement, and sustained the greatest loss; the French nobly emulating their skill and valor; while the Russians, who had to contend against the batteries, displayed equal courage, though their fire was not so well directed: the first named had seventy-five killed, including captain Bathurst of the *Genoa*, and one hundred and ninety-seven wounded: the Russians had fifty-seven killed, and one hundred and thirty-seven wounded, the *Azoff*, bearing count Heyden's flag, losing more than any other single ship: of the French, forty-three were killed, and one hundred and seventeen wounded; making the sum total six hundred and twenty-six put *hors de combat*. The scene of wreck and devastation on the side of the Turks was such as had never been witnessed since the battle of Lepanto: of about one hundred and twenty men of war and transports, no less a number than sixty-two were burnt, sunk, or driven on shore; while it was computed that near six thousand men perished in the action. The allies took no prizes, and detained no prisoners; but they saved many of the Turkish sailors, swimming in the bay or floating on spars. Ibrahim Pasha, who was absent on a military excursion, returned in time to see the shattered and smoking remains of his fleet, as it was said, with a certain degree of complacency; for the catastrophe, afflicting as it might be to his father and the sultan, extricated him from the dilemma in which he was placed, between his

sovereign's orders, and the mandates of the three greatest European powers. When the battle was over, the admirals entered into a fresh correspondence with the Turkish commanders; and as it was agreed that hostilities should cease, the allied fleet quitted Navarino on the twenty-fifth. Most of the ships were crippled; and while they went generally into their own ports to refit, the French admiral, de Rigny, proceeded to Smyrna in the Trident, in order to protect the Europeans settled at that place. The sultan received the news of this disaster without dismay or loss of temper, though he demanded reparation for what he called a flagrant violation of the law of nations; but with a remarkable approach to the usages of civilised society, he permitted the christian ambassadors to depart in safety, instead of sending them, as usual, to the Seven Towers.

Throughout a great part of christendom, the report of the victory at Navarino diffused joy and gladness; but in Great Britain, the feeling of exultation was confined to a minority; for the tories, who constituted a very powerful opposition, exclaimed against this aggression on the forces of an ancient ally, as a wanton act of perfidy, and as forwarding the designs of the Russian autocrat; while ministers, ashamed of having calculated so ill the consequences of their interference, appeared thunder-struck by an event for which they ought to have been prepared, afraid to take a manly line of defence, and uncertain what course to pursue. After virtually pronouncing an opinion on the victory, by rewarding the officers who had achieved it, they despatched admiral Sir John Gore to the Mediterranean for the purpose of collecting information; and thus gave their opponents a handle for taunting them with inconsistency: before the question, however, could be debated in parliament, lord Goderich's miserable and disjointed administration had fallen to pieces.

When the houses assembled on the twenty-ninth of January, the principal topic in the speech delivered by royal commissioners, was an allusion to the

Meeting of
parliament.

CHAP.
LXV.

1828.

late naval conflict; and, for the first time, a British victory was characterised as 'an untoward event.' The men now in power hated Greece and her cause; nor were they so blinded even by admiration of despotic principles, as not to perceive the advantages which might accrue to Russia, in her future projects, from the destruction of the Ottoman navy, and from that diminution of confidence, which the sultan would henceforth feel toward his great western allies. But of all European states, none perceived more clearly or felt more deeply the progress of Russian interests, than the court of Vienna: the designs of the autocrat on Poland, his successes in Persia and the regions about the great Caucasian chain, but more especially the patient, steady aim of conquest with which his race have ever regarded the Byzantine throne;—in short, the whole scheme of Russian policy, was weighed in all its bearings by prince Metternich, and is at this moment the chief pivot on which Austrian diplomacy may be said to turn. United to Russia by the ties of a common interest, as far as the war against continental freedom is concerned, Austria still views the increasing power and aggrandisement of her mighty neighbor with extreme apprehension; and schemes for counteracting the ambitious projects of Pozzo di Borgo unceasingly occupy the penetrating and sagacious mind of Metternich. To events arising from this source of danger, as it regards the Austrian empire, Italy may perhaps look for the future recovery of her freedom; since the Italian provinces are to Austria, what Ireland is to Great Britain. But on what shall Austria herself, and the other German states, rely for protection against the leviathan of the north? On what, but the friendship and firm coalition of Great Britain and France? What other combination, humanly speaking, would avail to preserve the balance of European power?

In both houses of parliament, the language held by the royal commissioners regarding the victory of Navarino, was loudly denounced by opposition, as indicating intention on the part of the duke

of Wellington's cabinet to abandon the line of Mr. Canning's policy: but the usual addresses to the throne were carried without a division. The formation of the new ministry did not escape discussion; and on this occasion, Mr. Brougham, alluding to the unusual phenomenon of a military premier, made use of an expressive phrase, which has penetrated to every region where the English language is spoken. 'No man,' said the learned gentleman, 'values more highly than I do the services and genius of the noble duke as a soldier; but I do not like to see him at the head of the financial department of this country, with the full confidence of his sovereign, enjoying all the patronage of the army, church, and state; while he is also entrusted with the delicate function of conveying constant and confidential advice to his royal master: this state of things strikes me as being very unconstitutional. I am indeed told, that the noble duke is a person of very great vigor in council, and that his talents are not confined to the art of war: it may be so; but that does not remove my objections to his possession of so immense a mass of civil and military patronage. It is said, that the noble duke is incapable of speaking in public, as a first minister of the crown ought to speak: now I conceive that there is no validity in that objection; for I happened to be present, when the noble duke, last year, had the modesty and candor to declare, in another place, his unfitness for the situation of first minister; and I really thought I never heard a better speech in my life, or observed less want of capacity in any one who might be called on to take part in a debate: this therefore is not a reason with me for objecting to the appointment: my objection rests on the unconstitutional grounds which I have before stated, and on the experience of the noble duke being wholly military. Let it not, however, be supposed that I am inclined to exaggerate: I have no fear of slavery being introduced into this country by the power of the sword:

CHAP.
LXV.

1828.

CHAP.
LXV.

1828.

it would demand a stronger man even than the duke of Wellington to effect that object : the noble duke might take the army and the navy, the mitre and the great seal—I will make him a present of them all : let him come on with his whole force, sword in hand, against the constitution ; the people will not only beat him by their energies, but laugh at his efforts. There have indeed been periods when the country heard with dismay that ‘the soldier was abroad ;’ but such is not the case now : let the soldier be ever so much abroad in the present age, he can do nothing : another power has arisen ; another person, less important, nay, even insignificant in the eyes of some persons, has produced this state of things : *the schoolmaster is abroad ;* and I trust more to the schoolmaster armed with his primer, for upholding the liberties of this country, than I fear lest the soldier in full military array should destroy them.’ All this was fine rhetoric, and did no discredit to Mr. Brougham’s genius ; nor can the liberties of our glorious constitution ever be watched too closely : but if there be a man covered with military glory, who has shown himself alive to the true liberties of his country, and to the preservation of its constitutional rights, that man is the duke of Wellington. We are not engaged now in canvassing particular parts of his policy, foreign or domestic ; but the manner in which he has descended from a station, more exalted than that of monarchs, to take his stand among the supporters of the British constitution, to reform many of its abuses, and to extend its privileges, will demand the admiration of all ages : it is an example which has rarely been surpassed, and it stands prominent for the imitation of future warriors.

Much time was subsequently wasted in personal explanations, and angry discussion on the circumstances which led to the dissolution of the late cabinet ; when the conduct of Mr. Huskisson and his party, in holding office under the new ministry, met with severe animadversion : a circumstance, how-

ever, which personally concerned that gentleman, soon paved the way to his dismissal, and to the resignation of his friends: this occurred during an election at Liverpool, where the honorable secretary affirmed, in one of his speeches, that he had obtained guarantees from the duke of Wellington, before he joined his administration. On the appearance of this expression in the public papers, the duke instantly took fire, and negatived the assertion, with indignant and contemptuous vehemence, in the house of lords; asking, what right Mr. Huskisson had to set himself up above any other member of the cabinet? The rebuke was met by that gentleman with a pitiful submission; his explanation of the meaning which he assigned to the word guarantee,—that of securing the co-operation of his friends, the earl of Dudley, lord Palmerston, and Mr. C. Grant in the cabinet,—was accepted; and there the affair rested for the present.

While these explanations were going on, that committee of finance, which had been so disastrous to the late administration, was appointed, on the motion of Mr. Peel, at this time the acknowledged leader of the house of commons: he introduced it with an able and comprehensive statement; whence it appeared, that a reduction of £48,608,000 had taken place in the funded and unfunded debt since 1815; while the actual sum of unredeemed debt amounted to £777,476,000: this being the total encumbrance, Mr. Peel next looked at the revenue and expenditure; and after going through their various items, he stated the income of last year at £49,581,000; the expenditure having been £49,487,000; leaving an excess of income equal to £94,000. As to the expenditure of the present year, the estimates were not yet completed; but, without binding himself down to extreme accuracy, they would be less than those of the preceding year by £1,168,260. After this general statement, Mr. Peel declared, that his colleagues and himself would willingly listen to any suggestions of the committee,

CHAP.
LXV.

1828.

for the appointment of which he was about to move ; and he took that opportunity of pressing one subject particularly on its notice—the simplification of the public accounts, in imitation of France and America : a plan for the attainment of such an object would confer a lasting obligation on the state. The motion passed without any opposition, except that of Mr. Hume ; who, having taken great pains to prepare a statement of the different branches of inquiry, declared that their proper investigation by one committee would occupy a period of two or three years ; in proof of which, he instanced the last appointed, which was called Sir Charles Long's committee ; and which had been occupied five years with the customs and excise only : the finance committee made thirteen or fourteen reports ; yet not one of them referred to many departments, into which he contended inquiry ought to be made ; such as the crown lands, the hereditary revenues, the civil list, the expenses of our law courts and of our colonies : he therefore suggested the appointment of ten or eleven committees of finance, and described the different subjects which deserved their attention : this plan however of dividing labor received no countenance, except from Mr. Brougham, who thought it might be judiciously adopted to a certain extent, by the committee dividing itself into separate lists of seven members, if necessary : twenty-three persons were then named. Their labors were very multifarious and important ; and among several suggestions for the national advantage, one of the first related to a discovery, that the public was regularly losing large sums, by the system on which government annuities had been granted : Mr. Herries had submitted to them a statement of the finances, which lord Althorp described as ‘ able, clear, and satisfactory ; ’ whence it appeared that those annuities had been sold at a considerable loss : the evidence of this was found in certain calculations made by Mr. Finlayson, who was said to have communicated the fact to lord Bexley in 1819, and subse-

quently to lord Goderich ; stating the rate of this loss to be £8000 a month, and to arise from a false calculation of the duration of life, as given in Dr. Price's tables : either these were originally inaccurate ; or human life, in consequence of increased comforts, conveniences, and scientific aid, was extended to a longer period : the truth of this statement soon appeared evident to the committee : nothing, however, could be done to alter those annuities which had been sold ; though a bill was immediately brought in, to suspend the operation of the act under which they had been granted, until a more correct system should be arranged. In a report on the state of the ordnance department, the abolition of the office of its lieutenant-general was recommended ; but this proposition did not obtain the assent of ministers. Mr. Canning's widow was now raised to the peerage ; and when the estimates of the year were presented, it was proposed to grant a pension of £3000 a year to his second son, as a provision for the family.* The grant was confirmed by a large majority of the house of commons, though vehemently opposed by lord Althorp, Sir Matthew Ridley, Messrs. Hume, Bankes, P. Thompson, D. W. Harvey, and others ; all of whom admitted the splendid talents of the late premier ; though some objected to the grant on the score of economy, and several on the ground of its not having been deserved : this opposition, however, was generally thought illiberal and unjust ; for Mr. Canning had spent, not only his life, but his fortune, in the public service. ' It should be known,' says an acute observer, ' in justice to those who hold the higher offices under the crown, that their salaries fall short of the expenses to which they are subjected, by the manners of the country, and a mischievous convention. This gorgeous scale of living has the double effect of giving an example and impulse to extrava-

CHAP.
LXV.

1828.

* The elder was engaged in the naval service of his country ; and his life, therefore, was not thought so safe : indeed, no long time elapsed before he was accidentally drowned.

CHAP.
LXV.

1828.

gance through every department of the public service, and of securing (perhaps by design) to private wealth a monopoly of administration. A man vigilantly prudent might perhaps have lived within his income in Mr. Canning's situation; and it is known that he had no prodigal or expensive tastes: but it is also known that he had that utter carelessness of money, through which fortune is not less effectually dissipated.⁵

Connected with the financial arrangements, was a measure regarding the currency. The act of 1826 had prohibited the issue of any notes under five pounds in England; but the small notes of Ireland and Scotland had been spared; and it was now found that those of the latter country were getting into extensive circulation through the northern counties. As the object of parliament had been to substitute a metallic for a small paper currency, and on this account had restricted English bankers, it would have been both partial and inconsistent to have allowed free circulation to the notes of Ireland or Scotland: a motion therefore was made to prohibit the introduction of small Scotch notes, to be enforced by a fine summarily levied. The bill was opposed by those who had been hostile to the measure of 1826, but was carried by large and increasing majorities in all its stages: during the discussion, it was stated, that £22,000,000 of gold was at this time circulating, and £8,000,000 of silver; also that a large quantity of specie was kept in reserve.

Financial
statement.

The budget was opened by the new chancellor of the exchequer with a clearness and simplicity that disarmed opposition. After various statements, he declared, that the total ordinary revenue of the year 1828 might be estimated at £50,381,530; to which must be added £3,082,500, to be received from the trustees of military and naval pensions, together with miscellaneous payments of £438,000;

⁵ Wallace's History of George IV. vol. iii. p. 327.

making a grand total of £53,902,030 : the expenditure would amount to the sum of £50,104,522, which, being deducted from the revenue, left a surplus of £3,797,508 : from this, however, was to be taken the advances to public works £708,000 ; so that the clear surplus was only £3,088,708, instead of £5,000,000, to be applied as a sinking fund. To supply this deficiency by any increase of taxation, was generally acknowledged to be, under present circumstances, out of the question ; so that it was agreed almost in silence to limit the sinking-fund to the amount of such a balance as might remain after the expenses of the year were liquidated.

CHAP.
LXV.
1828.

One of the most important questions debated Corn-laws. during the session was a new settlement of the corn laws : the act now introduced was constructed on a graduated principle of ascending and descending duties, like that of Mr. Canning ; but the medium price, or pivot, which was before taken at sixty shillings, was raised by the duke of Wellington to sixty-four shillings : even this compromise did not satisfy the agriculturists in either house, whilst it increased the objections which the advocates for a free trade in corn had raised against the previous bill. Mr. C. Grant, who introduced the measure in the house of commons, hardly attempted its vindication ; but declared that it was the best that could be framed in the existing conflict of interests and opinions. In this contest agriculture was very improperly considered as opposed both in its nature and objects to manufactures ; while, in fact, it is itself a manufacture, and the most advantageous of all manufactures ; for its profits are certain, and its employment healthy. All grain raised beyond the seed sown, adds the whole extent of such produce to the wealth, and the people employed in its production to the strength, of the state. The grand object of every good government, is to provide employment for the industry of its people ; and the first point to be attended to in this respect is the manufacturing of the raw material produced by the

CHAP.
LXV.

1828.

country; for this is real wealth: hence agriculture must always prove the most useful kind of manufacture to every state. The fruits and productions of the soil, raised by labor and capital, are disseminated and divided among all classes, who exchange their labor for that of the agriculturist, until sustenance is obtained by all: it is this internal commerce which is so beneficial, and so important, from the rapidity of the exchange, and the stability of it, as far as every description of produce is consumed by the inhabitants of a country; and by no other means can manufacturers and tradesmen be so extensively injured, as by an oppression of the agricultural interest.

Repeal of
test and
corporation
acts.

The measure of greatest public interest, however, carried at this time, was the repeal of the test and corporation acts. The grievances of the dissenters, whom those enactments were originally intended to exclude from offices of trust and power, had become almost nominal, through the act of indemnity which was annually passed to relieve such as were subject to penalties; but the very semblance of a political disqualification is always viewed by loyal subjects as a degradation, if not an injury; and as the progress of liberal opinions seemed favorable to the attempt, a bill to repeal those obsolete laws, and to substitute a declaration in place of the sacramental test, was brought into the house of commons by that great advocate of civil and religious liberty, lord John Russell. Ministers were not blind to what would be the ulterior consequences of this measure, if successful; but it was useless to strive against the spirit of the age: after an abortive project of Sir T. Acland for suspending instead of repealing the acts in question, as well as the rejection of Mr. Peel's proposition to take more time for consideration, lord John's motion was carried by a majority of 237 to 193, and against the influence of the cabinet; so that it became evident that its members must resign either their opinions or their places. They chose the former alternative: Mr. Peel said,

he could not think of pressing his sentiments against those of the majority ; government itself took up the measure ; and it came into the house of lords under the protection of the premier, and was advocated with remarkable energy and talent by lord Holland : thus approved, it was generally supported by the spiritual peers, though strongly and consistently opposed by the ex-chancellor Eldon, who declared that, much as he had heard of ' the march of mind,' he never expected to see it march into that house, with the duke of Wellington and the bishops at its head. After some vain attempts in committee to narrow the principle of this bill, it passed through all its stages, and finally received the royal assent.

CHAP.
LXV.

1828.

The necessity of repealing these laws, as a consequence of granting the claims of Roman catholics, had been strenuously maintained by the determined opponents of the latter measure : it was therefore with utter dismay that they saw the former carried, anticipating, as they did, its probable effects on the subject of catholic emancipation : nor was it long before that harassing question was again brought forward, with increased weight, by Sir Francis Burdett, whose motion for a committee was carried by a majority of six : its deliberations, however, went no farther than to ' the expediency of considering the laws affecting Roman catholics, with a view to such an adjustment, as might conduce to the peace and strength of the empire, and to the stability of the established church.' Instead of forming resolutions in detail, it was determined to seek a conference with the lords, in order to ascertain whether their sentiments on the subject had undergone any change : this proposal was accepted by the peers, and the conference was held on the nineteenth of May ; when the resolution of the commons, after being read in the upper house, was ordered to be taken into consideration on the ninth of June. The debate lasted two days ; but the proposition of the marquis of Lansdowne, ' that their lordships should concur in that resolution,' being

Catholic
claims.

CHAP.
LXV.

1828.

strenuously opposed by the duke of Wellington, and the law lords Eldon, Colchester, Redesdale, and Manners, as well as by the bench of bishops, was lost by a majority of forty-four.

Early in the session, Mr. Brougham had directed the attention of the house of commons to the state of our common law and its courts, in a speech which occupied six hours in delivery, and was remarkable for its vast variety of details: but though most men concurred in the opinion, that no subject was more worthy of attention than the improvement of our law; yet the unbounded extent of Mr. Brougham's inquiry, in which the attorney and solicitor-general pointed out several fallacies and errors, seemed to preclude the possibility of effecting any good: in addition to this, it may be observed, that there is always found an antipathy in one party to what is proposed in the other. Two commissions, however, issued; one to inquire into the state of the common law, and the other to take into consideration the law of real property.

Division in
the cabinet.

At the opening of the session, lord Londonderry, in his ardent admiration of the military premier, had proclaimed the determination with which that premier would 'cut off the unsound parts of his government, if it should be attacked with the dry rot;' nor did a long period elapse before this prediction was verified. In the course of the session, bills were introduced into parliament, to disfranchise the corrupt boroughs of Penryn and East Retford: Penryn first engaged the attention of the commons; a bill, transferring its elective privileges to Manchester, being sent up to the house of lords; while the case of East Retford was allowed to stand over, since the decision of the commons respecting it might be materially affected by that of the peers on the former question. On the nineteenth of May, when the East Retford bill was again moved, there seemed to be so great a certainty that the Penryn bill would be rejected by the lords, that ministers, who had pledged themselves, only in case of two

boroughs being thrown on their hands, to give the elective franchise to a town, considered themselves in fact as having but one borough to deal with: accordingly, all, with one exception, voted against transferring its privileges to Birmingham; favoring the claims of the adjoining hundred, though not without exciting strong suspicions of patronising 'a job,' for the benefit of a great borough proprietor. Mr. Huskisson, who had declared that he would vote, at all events, for the transfer to Birmingham, felt himself bound to redeem his pledge, and to divide against his colleagues: this, no doubt, was an awkward occurrence; but as the intentions of government were somewhat obscure, few persons would have thought it important enough to affect his connexion with the administration: Mr. Huskisson himself, however, took a different view of the subject; and on his arrival at home from the house of commons about two o'clock in the morning, he addressed a letter to the duke of Wellington, marked 'private and confidential,' in which he said, his duty led him, 'without loss of time, to afford his grace an opportunity of placing his office in other hands.' The duke received this communication about ten; and without loss of time availed himself of the opportunity thus offered, by laying Mr. Huskisson's letter, as a resignation, before his majesty. For such prompt, straightforward conduct that gentleman was not prepared; and disappointed perhaps that his services were not solicited by the minister, he declared to lord Dudley, with whom he happened to be in conversation when his grace's answer arrived, that he had never intended to resign; and his letter was marked 'private:' in consequence, lord Dudley immediately waited on the premier, and attempted to pass the matter off as a mistake; but his grace maintained that it was to all intents and purposes a resignation; declaring, emphatically, 'it is no mistake; it can be no mistake; it shall be no mistake.' Mr. Huskisson had the weakness, after this decided repulse, to offer explanations

CHAP.
LXV.

1828.

through lord Palmerston; but without any better success: he then, with almost incredible pertinacity, addressed a written appeal to the duke, which led to a correspondence, and to the humiliating failure which he well deserved. The premier was in fact glad of an occasion to relieve himself from a colleague, with whom he had several causes of pique, and with whose political principles his own did not wholly coincide: he was therefore inexorable; and the dismissal of Mr. Huskisson was followed by the resignation of lords Dudley and Palmerston, as well as of Mr. Charles Grant. Their places in the cabinet were supplied by Sir George Murray, who succeeded Mr. Huskisson; Sir Henry Hardinge, who was made secretary at war; and Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald, who took Mr. Charles Grant's place at the board of trade; while the seals of the foreign secretary were committed to that most determined enemy of continental freedom, the earl of Aberdeen. It is not meant to deny that this nobleman's views may be directed to advance what he considers the political interests of his own country; but the Castlereagh school has seldom produced a British statesman more indifferent to the oppressions which any other nation may undergo from the tyranny of despotic power. When, alas! will the period arrive, in which we shall see the cause of humanity inseparably connected with the policy of christian governments? No farther change took place in our administration during the year, except that the duke of Clarence, on some disagreement with the premier, connected with the large expenses incurred by his royal highness in costly journeys and marine exhibitions, resigned his post of lord high admiral; when a board was appointed on the old system, with lord Melville at its head. In Ireland, a change of government became necessary toward the close of the year. Parliament was prorogued on the twenty-eighth of July; when two interesting subjects of foreign policy were introduced into the speech of the commissioners;—war between Russia and Tur-

key—and the suspension of our relations with Portugal. It may reasonably be supposed, from the character of Mr. Canning's policy, that the victory of Navarino, in his hands, would have had the effect of softening the barbarian councils of Turkey, by the only argument which its savage rulers comprehend; while his fearless energy, and his connexion with the liberal and enlightened portion of Europe, would have controlled the ambition of Russia. It is certain, that no statesman ever occasioned greater trouble and apprehension to that power; nor could any one take a more effectual method to thwart its views, than by placing Great Britain in a position to hold the balance in the struggle of political interests and opinions: but the duke of Wellington paralysed all the effects of victory, and encouraged Turkish obstinacy, by what may be called an apologetic course of proceeding; while his foreign policy in general had neither the influence nor energy necessary to keep down Russian pretensions: so that Nicholas, detaching himself from the treaty of London, soon declared war against the Porte on his own account, for objects which were said to be wholly national.⁶

In Portugal affairs had taken a turn still more strange: the infatuated Don Pedro, supposing that a few months of foreign travel, together with a short residence in a German court, had power to erase the characters of malignant cruelty and perfidy inherent in his brother's disposition, named him regent of the kingdom; but not before Miguel had spontaneously sworn allegiance to him, as natural sovereign, as well as to the constitutional charter; and also engaged on oath to deliver up the crown to Donna Maria II., as soon as that princess should become of age. Under such circumstances, he quitted Vienna; and on his way to Lisbon, spent several weeks in England, where he met with a very distinguished reception; being

⁶ The chief pretext for the Russian declaration of war was the imperious behavior of the Porte, in its delay to fulfil the treaty of Ackerman.

CHAP.
LXV.

1828.

abundantly caressed, not only by that small party in this country who had an object in disturbing the affairs of Portugal, but by all the members of government, and the nobility in general. During his sojourn in London, he resided at the house of earl Dudley in Arlington-street, which was assigned for his accommodation ; and there he held several levees, giving audiences to foreign ambassadors and ministers : he was twice sumptuously entertained at the Admiralty by the duke of Clarence ; and, after visiting the king at Windsor, he proceeded to Plymouth, where he embarked, on the 20th of January, in a Portuguese frigate. At his departure, this accomplished pet, who was viewed with some suspicion, addressed a letter to the king, declaring that if, on his return to Portugal, he attempted any thing against the rights of his brother or niece, or against the constitution, '*he should be an usurper, and a perjured wretch ;*' which character was scarcely drawn by his pen, before he hastened to assume it. Immediately on his arrival at Lisbon, his mother, a monster possessed by an innate and insane thirst of blood, resumed her influence over him ; and after a series of intrigues and atrocities, the Cortes were dismissed, the charter was abolished, and Don Miguel proclaimed absolute king. Immediately, all the dungeons in the realm were filled with victims ; thousands, who preserved their loyalty, and acknowledged the sanctity of an oath, ended their days in those loathsome dens, or perished on the scaffold ; whilst immense numbers were banished to the desert coasts of Africa, or voluntarily abandoned their country, to endure all the sorrows of unmerited exile. Had Mr. Canning lived, this desperate assassin, who even attempted the life of his sister, would assuredly not have been sent back without some humane restrictions placed on his savage propensities : but the duke of Wellington was content to restore him on his bare *parole* ; and lord Aberdeen thought that the insult which he had committed against the majesty of the British nation, his act of

usurpation, and his abolition of the chartered liberties of his country, were all sufficiently avenged by the suspension of our diplomatic relations with Portugal. Don Pedro, by his ministers at Vienna and London, entered solemn protests against the violation of his hereditary rights and those of his daughter, whom he had despatched with a royal *cortège* to Europe. The destination of this young princess, in the first instance, was Vienna; but, on touching at Gibraltar, and learning the events which had occurred in Portugal, she took counsel with the principal officers in her suite, and by their advice directed her course to England. With regard to George IV. at this period, he appeared almost as insensible to the dignity, as averse to the fatigues of royalty: he rarely met his parliament, or held a court; but, secluding himself totally from the view of his subjects, endeavored to banish politics from his thoughts, and to ward off those ministerial changes, which might interfere with his ease or his amusements: events, however, were nigh at hand, which, by threatening to disturb his tranquillity, occasioned the greatest revulsion which had yet taken place in his political principles.

No sooner had the present ministers assumed the reins of government, than Irish agitation, which gratitude or prudence had partially suppressed during the two previous administrations, instantly revived in all its force; for the duke of Wellington had ever been one of the most energetic opponents of the catholic claims; and Mr. Peel was considered as representing the embodied resistance of the high church and tory party of England. In these two leaders, every protestant of the empire, averse to emancipation, firmly confided: accordingly, against them and their government the agitators raised the cry of war, while they proceeded to reorganise the catholic association: their efforts were openly seconded by the popish priesthood; and the first display of this united power, to use the expression of Mr. Shiel, 'made the great captain start.' It

Disturbances in
Ireland.

CHAP.
LXV.

1828.

was exhibited in a contested election for the county of Clare, when Mr. O'Connell adopted the novel experiment of offering himself, though a catholic, as a candidate for the representation; broaching a new, but unfounded opinion, that even under the existing law he was not precluded from sitting in the house of commons; and pledging himself, if he should be returned, to make the experiment. In this instance, although the protestant candidate, Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald, was an advocate for emancipation, his votes and speeches were considered only as a mockery, while the government to which he belonged was based on the principle of exclusion; and though he was supported by the great mass of landed proprietors and moderate men of all parties, yet the peasantry were impelled by their priests to vote for the great agitator; who, in face of a protest, was declared duly returned, and who promised to demand his seat in the ensuing session.

This proof of catholic determination and power was only a prelude to farther manifestations of both: the association, when the restraining act expired, was reorganised on its old construction; and the name of agitators, applied to its leaders, as a term of reproach and contumely, was accepted by the whole body as a title of honor. A plan was now formed and executed, with the aid and agency of the priests, to break that link which united the catholic forty-shilling freeholders with their landlords: certain tests were framed, and resolutions adopted, to reject every candidate who should decline a pledge to oppose the duke of Wellington's administration, and to vote for parliamentary reform, as well as for the repeal of the sub-letting act: and while the catholic peasantry, at the command of their agitators, ceased, as it were mechanically, from habitual outrage and lawless violence, they assembled in large companies, regularly trained for the exertion of physical force, and anxious for its display, whenever it might be required. The state of Ireland at this period was vividly, yet faith-

fully delineated, in the following description, given by one of her most eloquent sons:—‘Does not a tremendous organisation,’ said Mr. Shiel, ‘extend over the whole island? Have not all the natural bonds, by which men are tied together, been broken and burst asunder? Are not all the relations of society, which exist elsewhere, gone? Has not property lost its influence? has not rank been stripped of the respect which should belong to it? and has not an internal government grown up, which, gradually superseding the legitimate authorities, has armed itself with a complete domination? Is it nothing, that the whole body of catholic clergy are alienated from the state; and that the catholic gentry, peasantry, and priesthood, are all combined in one vast confederacy? So much for catholic indignation while we are at peace; and when England shall be involved in war—I pause: it is not necessary that I should discuss that branch of the division, or point to the cloud, which, charged with thunder, is hanging over our heads.’

As the year advanced, the state of the country assumed a new and still more fearful aspect; for the protestants, becoming irritated by the virulent language of the principal agitators, alarmed at the menacing attitude of their followers, and disgusted at the apparent apathy of the British government, began to unite in self-defence: provincial Orange lodges were now revived, with the grand lodge in Dublin as the centre of operations; while new associations, under the title of Brunswick clubs, including in their lists the most influential classes, contributed to break up society into parties for the more extended indulgence of mutual animosity: the protestant clubs had an extensive sway throughout the northern counties, as the catholic association was dominant in those of the south: to the former, therefore, where the organisation of the catholics proceeded more slowly, an apostle of agitation was sent, in the person of Mr. Lawless. That itinerant orator, traversing the different districts from parish

CHAP.
LXV.

1828.

to parish, not only collected together the catholics in their chapels, where he inflamed them by every possible incentive, but entered the towns at the head of immense multitudes; until at length the protestants also came out to prevent his progress, and serious riots took place: then the association, beginning to fear that it had gone too far, by exciting in one part of the country a spirit difficult to be controlled, and creating in another successful opposition, instead of that silence which is produced by dismay, issued a proclamation, exhorting the peasants to desist from meeting in large bodies; and the ominous obedience shown to this mandate left nothing for a subsequent proclamation of the lord lieutenant to effect; for the assemblies had disappeared before he ventured to call them in question. Amid this fearful state of illegal organisation and impending anarchy, the only remarkable declaration which ministers substituted for active measures, consisted in a private letter sent by the duke of Wellington to Dr. Curtis, catholic primate of Ireland; in which, while he expressed great anxiety to witness the settlement of the catholic question, and confessed that he saw no prospect of such a consummation, he observed, with a kind of studied obscurity, 'if we could bury it in oblivion for a short time, I should not despair of a satisfactory result.' Dr. Curtis having communicated this enigmatical epistle to the lord lieutenant, the opinion pronounced by his excellency was decidedly of an opposite nature. 'I differ,' said he, 'from the duke, with respect to burying the question for a short time in oblivion;—first, because the thing is utterly impossible; and next, if it were possible, I fear advantage might be taken of the pause, by representing it as a panic achieved by the late violent reaction; and by proclaiming, that if government peremptorily decided against concession, the catholics would cease to agitate: then all the miseries of Ireland would have to be reacted. I therefore recommend that the measure should not for a moment

be lost sight of; that anxiety should continue to be manifested; that all constitutional means should be adopted to forward the cause, consistent with the most patient forbearance and submissive obedience to the laws; that the catholics should trust to the justice of their cause, and to the growing liberality of mankind; but should not desist from *agitation*.' For this advice, which was afterwards made public with the lord lieutenant's consent, he is said to have been recalled in displeasure by the premier: but dates, together with subsequent explanations and events, seem to indicate other motives for this determination; and lord Anglesea himself is reported to have divined immediately the true reason of his dismissal. 'I know the duke,' he said; 'his mind is made up to emancipate the catholics; and I am recalled, because he would have no one to share his victory.' At all events, the latter part of the old year was employed by administration, in testifying their repugnance to a measure, which it was their first act in the new year to introduce.

CHAP.
LXV.

1828.

On the fourth of December, the earl of Liverpool expired at Combe Wood, after various fluctuations in his health; though not the slightest prospect of recovery had appeared since his first attack. Seldom has it happened, that a minister, undistinguished by great brilliancy of genius or parliamentary eloquence, ever acquired so much weight, or conciliated so much favor, by the mere force of personal character: he possessed indeed a sound and cautious judgment, with a mind well adapted to business, and stored with all that political knowledge which is requisite in a statesman; but it was in his unquestionable integrity, his open and manly conduct, his honest and prudent resolves, that the country chiefly trusted; for he was never suspected of governing merely to serve party purposes, of speaking for the pleasure of victory, or of intriguing for the acquisition of power. One trait in his character deserves peculiar notice: in his distribution of ecclesiastical

Death of
the earl of
Liverpool.

CHAP.
LXV.

1828.

Domestic
events.

patronage, and careful selection of those whom he raised to offices of dignity and responsibility in the church, he put to shame all his predecessors in office, and set a splendid example to future ministers; showing, what few seem ever to have suspected, that more influence is to be gained by one single appointment made from pure, disinterested motives, than by fifty pieces of preferment lavished on parliamentary retainers, or those whose only claims are the ties of kindred and affinity.

The judicial annals of this year were marked by a case so unparalleled in atrocity, that the criminal has obtained an unusual, though unenviable distinction, of introducing a new word into our vocabulary. An Irishman, of the name of Burke, cohabiting with a female, named Helen M'Dougal, coalesced with one Hare, who let lodgings for low travellers in the city of Edinburgh, to murder persons by wholesale, and dispose of their bodies to the teachers of anatomy. In that den of iniquity, according to the confession of the principal actor, sixteen persons, some in their sleep, others after intoxication, and several in a state of infirmity from disease, were suffocated by these demons in the human shape; one of the men generally throwing himself on the victim to hold him down, while the other, 'burked' him, by forcibly compressing the nostrils and mouth, or the throat, with his hands. Hare being admitted as king's evidence, Burke and his other partner in guilt were arraigned on three counts; charging them with the murder of an unfortunate girl of the town, named Patterson; of a poor idiot, known by the appellation of daft Jamie; and of an elderly woman, named Docherty; on the last of which Burke was found guilty; while the woman, Helen M'Dougal, was acquitted. The murderer was convicted on the twenty-fourth of December; but as the law of Scotland humanely allows a larger space of time to elapse between conviction and execution than that of England, he did not suffer till the twenty-eighth of January ensuing:

nevertheless, the indignation of the populace did not abate ; and when the monster was brought out to undergo his sentence, the shouts and execrations of the crowd which surrounded the gallows, and filled the neighboring streets, were quite appalling.

On the first of October this year, the London University was opened by Mr. Charles Bell, professor of physiology and surgery, who delivered the first lecture of the courses dedicated to medical science ; and on the twenty-fifth of the same month, a circumstance of great interest to the mercantile world took place in the opening of St. Katharine's Docks, below the Tower, with much pomp, and a large assemblage of spectators. The vessels which entered those spacious receptacles, amid the discharges of artillery and the shouts of assembled multitudes, had their yards manned, and their rigging ornamented with the flags of all European nations, as well as other devices. The amount of capital, raised by shares, for this great undertaking, was £1,352,800 ; but the whole expense of its final completion was calculated at about £1,700,000 : in clearing the ground, 1250 houses or tenements were pulled down ; no less than 11,300 inhabitants having to seek accommodation elsewhere. The area thus obtained is about twenty-four acres ; of which eleven and a half are devoted to wet docks : the canal leading to them from the river is 190 feet long, and forty-five broad ; sunk to such a depth, that ships of 700 tons burden may enter at any time of the tide. The first stone was laid on the third of May, 1827 ; and upwards of 2500 men were daily employed from that time to the present.

The only foreign politics that require additional comment are those of France and Greece. The ministry of M. de Villèle had fallen last year, because they lent themselves to the designs of the court and priesthood, instead of consulting the growing spirit and intelligence of the nation ; nor could several good measures which they had carried, or the royal favor, on account of which they had at-

CHAP.
LXV.

1828.

Foreign
policy.

CHAP.
LXV.

1828.

tempted and executed many bad, support them against the general impression, that neither civil nor religious liberty was safe in their hands. At the head of the new ministers forced on the king by the liberal party, was M. Roy, a gentleman possessing considerable knowledge of finance; but the cabinet was composed of men, moderate both in talent and opinions; and was tolerated by the king only as a necessary evil, though it contained much more of the materials of the old ministry than was agreeable to the party which raised it to power. The priests and jesuits were now striving in France for the absolute control of public education, as the most effectual means of recovering their domination; whilst a seasonable jealousy of these attempts, and an ardent determination to resist them, was widely diffused; so that 'no jesuitism' became as awakening a cry in France, as 'no popery' used to be in Great Britain. The new ministers, therefore, in their first acts, endeavored to silence the fears of the nation on these points; and in so doing, alienated from themselves still more the good will of the monarch. In his majesty's speech to the chambers, he took a different view from our cabinet of the transaction at Navarino; and after observing that the exertions of Ferdinand in Spain, to stifle the germs of civil discord, promised soon to restore the French army of occupation to its native land, he declared, that the rigorous blockade of Algiers, instituted on account of the insults and aggression of that state against French commerce, should not terminate until complete satisfaction was obtained.

In the autumn of this year, the French government sent a strong military force to the Morea, under general Maison; who, while the oppressor and the insidious patron of Greece were engaged in mortal conflict, expelled the cruel Ibrahim from a country which he had desolated, and reduced the Turkish fortresses of the Morea, which were obstinately defended by their garrisons. Before the end of November, the ancient Peloponnesus, freed from fo-

reign control, was left to the direction of its provisional government, at the head of which the count Capo d'Istria had been installed as president. In his inaugural address, he told his countrymen that its first care should be to repress insubordination, deliver them from anarchy, and conduct them by degrees to national and political regeneration: he also set himself sternly against the piratical habits by which independent Greece had disgraced herself; and he had sufficient authority to make the fleet, which was placed at his disposal, carry his orders into effect: as yet, neither he nor the government had enjoyed leisure to frame any system of finance; but he had obtained a loan from Russia, and looked forward confidently to the assistance of England and France. Under present circumstances, however, the most important subject was that relating to the boundaries of the new kingdom; and although this was a question which the allied powers, parties to the treaty of London, would have to settle with the Ottoman Porte; the commission of the national assembly addressed a declaration to those powers; in which it was proposed, that the northern mountains of Thessaly, and the course of the river Voiussa, should form its boundary on the north, to the exclusion of Macedonia: these limits, as they justly observed, seemed to be pointed out by nature herself; and where boundaries do not coincide with some great natural features, but are lines arbitrarily laid down, they actually tempt an usurper by that dangerous facility which they offer to violation: these considerations, however, were ultimately lost sight of. If any result was desirable for western Europe from the independence of Greece, it was the creation of a strong barrier against the encroachments of the northern leviathan, after the partition of Poland; and if Russian influence over the new state was feared, that influence would be more easily exerted over a small than over a large territory; which latter might easily preserve its liberty with the aid of external alliances: but the spirit of our tory govern-

CHAP. ment seemed adverse to the independence of any
LXV. nation, except its own; and though there were con-
siderations that especially recommended the interests
1828. of Greece to the noble secretary for foreign affairs,
no sentiment appeared able to conquer his rooted
antipathy to the general cause of freedom.

CHAPTER LXVI.

GEORGE IV. (CONTINUED.)—1829.

Agitations in Ireland—Election of Mr. O'Connell for Clare—Difficulties of the cabinet—Determination of the government to concede to the catholics—Opening of parliament—Suppression of the catholic association—Rejection of Mr. Peel at Oxford—Debates and passing of the emancipation bill—Disfranchisement of the Irish forty-shilling freeholders—Financial statements—Motion for parliamentary reform—Prorogation of parliament—Affairs of the continent—Agricultural and commercial distress—State of affairs in Ireland—Conflagration of York Minster—Opening of new Fleet Market and Post Office—New police—Meeting of parliament in 1830—Distress of the nation denied by ministers—Speeches, &c., on occasion of the address—Motions for inquiry, &c.—Debates on reductions and taxation, &c.—Committee on East-India company's charter—Debate on the currency—The budget—Beer bill—Reform of parliament—Debates on subjects connected with it—Bill for amending the law on libel—Alterations in courts of justice—Illness of the king—Bill to authorise a stamp for the sign manual—Death of George IV.

In Ireland the recommendation of the late lord-lieutenant was strictly followed; and when his successor, the duke of Northumberland, arrived in Dublin, he found agitation pervading the whole country: the Brunswick clubs, despairing of any effectual aid from government, were beginning to buckle on their armor, and take the field against the new order of liberators; while the denunciations of both parties, breathing defiance and revenge, au- Agitations
in Ireland.

CHAP.
LXVI.

1829.

gured nothing less than the horrors of civil war. The situation of the prime minister now became one of great and peculiar difficulty: the whole tenor of his political life, as well as that of his principal supporters, had been marked by hostility to the catholic claims; every individual having distinctly pledged himself to resist them; grounding his declarations, not on circumstances which might change, but on the nature of the Romish church, which abhors the very notion of change: if the duke therefore saw reason to alter his own opinions, he would naturally find much difficulty in producing a similar change in those of honorable, disinterested, independent members of the legislature; nor would he find the sovereign more tractable; since his reluctance to yield on this point was deep-rooted and vehement: it is well known, that to obtain his majesty's consent, cost the premier months of management, vigilance, and perseverance; and probably nothing but that indolence and love of ease, which a dissolution of the ministry would have interrupted, overcame the repugnance he had ever manifested to entertain the question. In the mean time, O'Connell's election for Clare, the disturbances which afflicted Ireland, the efforts of a large party in England favorable to catholic emancipation, and the delay of public business, which a continual agitation of this subject in parliament occasioned, made it necessary for his grace to decide on some mode of action. His choice was threefold; either to fall back on old tory principles, and take his ground, as at Waterloo, with a determination never to yield—or to grant emancipation with a free and liberal hand—or, lastly, to retire from the helm of state for a season, and permit a whig government to carry the measure. It may be truly alleged, that to put off concession much longer, without drawing the sword, and re-conquering Ireland, was impossible; and even how such a conquest could be obtained against an increasing majority in the house of commons, with more than a third of the nation favorable to emancipation, and

another third tired of the subject, or insensible to its result, is very difficult to conceive : there can be little doubt, however, that the latter course would have been at once the wisest and most honorable ; for it was hardly fair to steal the crown of victory from those statesmen, who, during the whole of their political career, had ably and eloquently advocated the catholic cause ; nor was it prudent in his grace to subject his own party not only to imputations and aspersions, but ultimately to disunion, by the course which he pursued.

CHAP.
LXVI.

1829.

Having determined, however, to carry the question by his own might, he first gave intimation of this intention in the king's speech delivered by commission on the fifth of February : the suppression of the catholic association was there alluded to as a measure which ought to precede any review of the condition of Ireland, or any consideration of the disabilities under which Roman catholics were laboring. The advocates of exclusion, perceiving at once the tendency of this recommendation, complained of treacherous desertion and surprise, charging the duke with a perfidious concealment of his designs up to the last moment ; while they loaded Mr. Peel and Mr. Goulburn, men distinguished as Irish secretaries by their anti-catholic sentiments, with the most bitter execrations, on account of their supposed apostasy. On the tenth, a bill was introduced by the former of these gentlemen, to augment the powers of government, for the purpose of suppressing the association ; and this passed without opposition ; for although its provisions were somewhat arbitrary in their nature, the friends of the catholics voted in favor of it, as part of a system which was meant to terminate in emancipation : the association, however, rendered all such enactments unnecessary, by announcing its own dissolution before the bill was complete. On the fifth of March, for which day a call of the house of commons had been ordered, Mr. Peel moved that they should go into committee respecting the laws which imposed disabilities on the Roman catholics ;

CHAP.
LXVI.

1829.

but he no longer rose as member for the university of Oxford. That station, from which Mr. Canning had been rejected, Mr. Peel had reached and retained by his uncompromising hostility to catholic emancipation: actuated therefore by the most honorable feelings, he resigned his trust into the hands of those from whom he had received it, before he advocated a measure which they conscientiously abhorred: the only matter of surprise is, that he should have incurred the mortification of certain defeat, by consenting to be put in nomination, with a view to reelection, by a small party of his adherents.

Introduc-
tion of
catholic
relief bill
by mi-
nisters.

Mr. Peel began by stating, that he rose, as one of the king's ministers, to vindicate the advice which a united cabinet had given to his majesty, and submit to the house measures for carrying such recommendation into effect: he was aware of the difficulties with which the subject was surrounded, increased as they were by the relation in which he himself stood to the question; but having come to the sincere conviction, that the time had arrived, when an amicable adjustment of the disputed claims would be accompanied with less danger than any other course that could be suggested, he was prepared to act on that conviction; unchanged by any expression of contrary sentiments, however general or deep; unchanged by the forfeiture of political confidence, or by the heavy loss of private friendship. He had long felt, that with a house of commons favorable to catholic emancipation, his position, as a minister opposed to it, was untenable; and he had more than once intimated his desire to resign office, and thus remove one obstacle to a settlement of the question: he had done so on the present occasion; though at the same time he notified to the duke of Wellington, that, seeing how the current of public opinion lay, he was ready to sacrifice consistency or private friendship, and to support the measure, provided it were undertaken on principles from which no danger to the protestant establishment need be apprehended: he was aware that he was expected to make out a

case for this change of policy ; and he was now about to submit to the house a statement, which proved to his own mind, with the force of demonstration, that ministers were imperatively called on to recommend the measure, however inconsistent it might appear with their former tenets.

CHAP.
LXVI.

1829.

The argument, by which this case was to be made out, said Mr. Peel, resolved itself into the following propositions : first, matters could not remain in their present state ; the evils of divided councils being so great, that something must be done, and a government must be formed with a common opinion on the subject : secondly, a united government once constituted must do one of two things ; it must either grant farther political rights to the catholics, or recall those which they already possess : but, thirdly, to deprive them of what they already have, would be impossible ; or, at least, would be infinitely more mischievous than to grant them more ; and therefore no case remained to be adopted, except that of concession.

Having illustrated these propositions at great length, and with great ability, Mr. Peel proceeded to develop the course which it was intended to pursue. The principle or basis of the projected measures was the abolition of civil distinctions, and the establishment of equal political rights, with a few special exceptions : the chief of these were the continued disqualification of Roman catholics from holding the offices of lord chancellor, or keeper of the great seal, or lord-lieutenant of Ireland ; from receiving any appointments in protestant universities or colleges ; and from exercising any right of presentation, as lay patrons, to the benefices and dignities of the church of England : an oath also was to be exacted from all who should become members of parliament, civil officers of state, or members of corporations, by which they were to promise allegiance to the crown, as well as to abjure every design of subverting the protestant establishment in church and state. To these indispensable provisions some others less important

CHAP.
LXVI.

1829.

were added ; such as prohibitions against carrying the insignia of office to places of Roman catholic worship ; and against the assumption, by prelates of that communion, of the same episcopal titles as those which belong to the church of England : also certain precautions against the increase of monastic institutions, particularly that of the jesuits, intended chiefly to allay the alarm still existing in some minds against that once formidable order : a more effective and important check, however, on the consequences which might result from admitting Roman catholics in Ireland to civil power, was meditated in a law for raising the qualification of the elective franchise, in counties, from forty shillings to ten pounds ; by which means, that privilege would be limited to persons really possessed of property, and less liable to be misled by the priests.

The motion was not very powerfully opposed ; the principal speakers against it being Sir Robert Inglis and Mr. Estcourt, the two members for Oxford university ; the former of whom had been Mr. Peel's successful competitor for that representation. The chief argument used, was an assumption, that the grant of equal privileges to Roman catholics would be the destruction of our protestant establishment. With regard to Ireland, it was said, that discord and agitation were not new features in the condition of that country ; that they were not a result of the penal laws ; nor would they cease on the removal of civil disabilities. With respect to the divided state of the cabinet, it was asked, why did not the duke of Wellington and Mr. Peel, instead of changing their own line of policy, rather attempt to bring over their colleagues to their views ;—especially as the right honorable gentleman confessed that he still thought there was danger in granting catholic emancipation ? Against the fear of civil war, it was said, that reliance ought to have been placed on public opinion and the moral determination of the British people : at best too, the evil day would only be postponed, and resistance to ulterior struggles rendered more diffi-

cult. Ministers were also met with taunts on the intimidated spirit from which concession was wrung, and which was rendered evident in their ridiculous provisions, called securities. If Mr. Peel, it was said, and other newly made converts thought they could no longer resist, because they had not a majority in the house of commons, why did they refuse to accept a majority? why had not parliament been dissolved? such a course was right at any time, when a measure strongly affecting the constitution was contemplated; but it was peculiarly necessary in the present instance. The marquis of Blandford even maintained, that if the house sanctioned the present audacious invasion of the constitution, it would break the trust reposed in it by the people of England, who were surprised with the unexpected announcement now made by ministers: constituted as the house was, it did not express the just alarm of the people for the safety of protestant institutions.

The motion, on the other hand, was supported by Sir G. Murray, colonial secretary, Mr. C. Grant, Mr. North, and Mr. Huskisson; while the opposition members who spoke, contented themselves with general observations of approbation and congratulation. The positions were repeated and enforced, that the pacification of Ireland was necessary to the safety of the empire; and that without emancipation pacification could not be effected; since all classes had identified themselves with the question, and Ireland had thence fallen into a state in which it could not possibly remain: it must now either advance or recede; for every tie which held society together in that island had been loosened or broken: a certain state of things, indeed, not deserving the name of society, might be maintained by means of the sword; but such an one as would have no analogy to the British constitution. The only intimidation, to which ministers could be accused of yielding, was the fear of continuing such a state of affairs, and aggravating all its evils by gradual accumulation, instead of restoring mutual good will and

CHAP.
LXVI.

1829.

the peaceful empire of the law: no other intimidation existed; none was felt in Ireland; for what was the force of an unarmed multitude, when measured against the force of the state? But when it was considered, what effects might arise from disunion — since a spirit of resentment was growing up, which excited men against each other, — there appeared a prospect of intimidation, such as did not admit of contempt; for no army could avail to put down a system of private outrage and revenge. The protestant body, at least the body which arrogated to itself that title, knew the state of enthrallment under which they had held the catholics; and that an unarmed multitude must submit: but were we to destroy one part of the people by rousing and inflaming the other? It was rather the duty of government to protect the whole, to ensure for them the greatest degree of protection, and to give them all the privileges which they had a right to enjoy.

Regarding a dissolution of parliament, it was said, that the present house was as capable of discussing this question, as any which had sat for the last twenty-five years: it was in fact a question fit for consideration at all times, when brought forward by any member; and was particularly so, when it came with a recommendation from the throne, as necessary for the peace and safety of the united kingdom. A dissolution of parliament, Mr. Peel observed, must leave the catholic association and the elective franchise in Ireland just as they were; for the common law was inadequate to suppress them: then, whatever might be the majority returned for Great Britain, Ireland would return eighty or ninety members in the interest of the association, forming a compact and united band, against the force of which it would be impossible to carry on the local government of the country. It had been said, indeed, increase the army, or the constabulary force; but a greater force could not be employed there. He would state one simple fact: above five-sixths of the infantry had been engaged in aiding the govern-

ment of Ireland; not so much by repressing violence, as by interposing between two hostile parties: under such circumstances, a reaction must ensue, which would gradually lead to this alternative; namely, to a plan of narrowing the civil government, and resting it on the apex, instead of its proper position on the base. It was also denied that there was any thing so peculiar, in the nature of the proposed measure, as to require a special appeal to the people; since it was incorrectly called a violation of the constitution: that constitution was not to be sought for solely in the acts of 1688: its foundations had been laid much earlier—laid by catholic hands, and cemented by catholic blood: but even taking the compact of 1688 to be the foundation of our rights and liberties, the most diligent opponent of the catholic claims would be unable to point out in the bill of rights a single clause, by which the exclusion of Roman catholics from seats in parliament was declared to be a fundamental or indispensable principle of the British constitution: that bill merely regarded the liberties guaranteed to the people, and the protection of the throne from the intrusion of popery. To the objection, that the measure contemplated was an unconditional concession, without adequate security for the protestant establishment, it was answered, that principles of exclusion were not the kind of securities to which the established religion trusted, or ought to trust: the real securities of protestantism would remain, unaffected by this bill, in the unalterable attachment of the people; who, though divided on minor subjects, would unite in resisting the errors of popery: the combined force of habits and circumstances was not so easily to be shaken: the house also, it was said, should look at that great security which it would derive from the generous gratitude of the Irish. Neither were the actual securities devised so nugatory as they had been represented: Mr. Peel said, that when he looked at the petitions sent from all parts of the

CHAP.
LXVI.

1829.

country, he could not help being struck with one extraordinary coincidence;—these petitions united in praying for three special securities—the extinction of the catholic association, the correction of the elective franchise in Ireland, and the abolition of the order of jesuits : now the bill which he proposed happened to contain all these securities ; and if the necessity of obtaining them were so great as the petitioners contended, let him be answered this question :—would the protestants ever have had the least chance of procuring them, unless his majesty had recommended the disabilities of the Roman catholics to be taken into consideration, with a view to adjustment ?

On a division, the motion was carried by a majority of 348 votes against 160 ; which preponderance not only made manifest the fate of the question in the commons, but indicated an overwhelming weight of ministerial influence, to be exerted, probably with no less success, in the house of peers : resolutions, proposed by Mr. Peel in the committee, were immediately agreed to ; and a bill founded on them was introduced, and read for the first time, on the tenth of March.

On the seventeenth, the honorable secretary moved the second reading of this bill ; when he was strongly attacked on the desertion of his principles by Sir Edward Knatchbull, one of the members for Kent. Mr. Goulburn admitted that he had adopted new opinions on this subject, because nothing else could possibly be done in the present state of Ireland ; and contended, that the measure proposed was calculated to give more complete ascendancy to the protestant establishment, by diminishing the irritation, and removing the prejudices of its opponents : this method however of giving permanent security to the protestant establishment, by granting political power to the church of Rome, was strongly condemned by Mr. G. Bankes, who declared that it was but a stepping-stone for the catholics to reach every thing they

might desire. Lord Palmerston and Sir George Murray supported the measure with much eloquence and animation; but the speech which on this occasion claimed and deserved the greatest attention from the house, was that of Mr. Sadler, a man of distinguished abilities, rare honesty, and benevolent disposition, who had lately been returned to parliament for the borough of Newark, by the duke of Newcastle's interest. Mr. Sadler not only argued at great length against the principle of the bill, and its dangerous tendency toward the protestant church; but showed its utter futility in remedying the evils which oppressed Ireland, or repaying the wrongs which she had suffered from so many generations. 'Ireland,' said he, 'degraded, deserted, oppressed, and pillaged, is turbulent; and you listen to the selfish recommendations of her agitators: you seek not to know, or, knowing, you wilfully neglect, her real distresses: if you can calm the agitated surface of society, you heed not that fathomless depth of misery, sorrow, and distress, the troubled waves of which may still heave unseen and disregarded; and this, forsooth, is patriotism! Ireland asks of you bread, and you offer to her catholic emancipation; and this, I presume, is construed to be the taking into consideration, as his majesty recommended, the whole state of Ireland.' Mr. Sadler made an eloquent apostrophe to the memory of Mr. Canning, declaring his own repentance in having aided the too successful attempts to hunt down that illustrious victim:—a man, whom England and the world recognised as an ornament; whose eloquence was, in these days at least, unrivalled; while the energies of his capacious mind, stored with knowledge and elevated by genius, were devoted to the service of his country. 'This,' said the honorable member, 'was the statesman, with whom the present ministers could not act, for a reason which vitiates their present resolutions, and furnishes the most disgraceful page in the annals of our country. But peace to his

CHAP.
LXVI.

1829.

memory ! my humble tribute is paid when it can be no longer heard or regarded ; when it is drowned by the voice of interested adulation, now poured into the ears of the living. He fell ; but his character is rescued : it rises and triumphs over that of his surviving,—what shall I call them ? Let their own consciences supply the hiatus.’

Mr. R. Grant maintained, that it was in vain to speak of applying to the evils of Ireland such cures as it was supposed might be found in the establishment of poor-laws, or the compulsory residence of the absentees : even if the expediency of these measures were assumed, this was not the proper time for their application : the question at present was, how existing discontent might be allayed—how the raging pestilence might be stopped. It was only after this had been done, that preventives could be rationally suggested ; for although the evils of Ireland had been traced to many causes, these causes themselves, even where they existed, were but the effects of political distinctions, founded on the difference of religious creeds : the house had been told, for instance, to seek for the source of such evils in the local oppression practised in Ireland, rather than in the general restrictive laws : of local oppression, no doubt, plenty had always existed ; but it had ever flourished, while the followers of one creed were armed with power to oppress the adherents of another deprived of all power. The same mischiefs too, it was said, had existed before the reformation, when there was but one religious faith in Ireland : true ; and they existed, because even then the same system of excluding the natives from political power had been long followed, though on different grounds. Of all declaimers against the bill, no one was so furious as Sir Charles Wetherell, who had refused to draw it up in his official capacity as attorney-general : still in office, under a minister who was understood to have made implicit submission to his word of command the tenure by which office was to be held, and knowing that nothing but

the difficulty of supplying his place prevented his discharge,⁷ he hurled around him, on the measure, its framers, and its advocates, furious fragments of the most frantic declamation and personal hostility. This vituperation called up Mr. Peel; who, after complaining of the violent conduct of the attorney-general, reverted to the grounds on which he had first proposed the bill; again urging the state of Ireland, and the absolute necessity of doing something; the inability of his opponents to do any thing better, though they vehemently opposed the measure now offered; the impossibility of any government standing, which should set itself, on avowed principles, against concession; and the folly of treating the question as one which had any connexion with religion: the catholics were never excluded, at any time, on account of their religious creed, but for a supposed deficiency of civil worth; and the religious test was applied, not to detect the worship of saints, or any other tenet of their faith, but merely to discover whether they were Roman catholics; to discover, not the religionist, but the bad and intriguing subject: he complained grievously, that an unfair application had been made of his unhappy phrase, that the proposed measure was 'a breaking in upon the constitution of 1688;' by which he meant no more, than that there would be an alteration in the words of the bill of rights; and if this were to break in upon the constitution, then had such breaking in frequently taken place. After feelingly lamenting the loss of private friendship and of public confidence, which he had sustained by proposing these measures, the honorable secretary expressed his conviction, that the time would come, though he might not live to see it, when full justice would be done by men of all parties to the motives which had actuated him; when this ques-

⁷ In the event of the attorney-general's office becoming vacant, ministers could not pass over Sir Nicholas Tindal, the solicitor-general, while his elevation would have occasioned a vacancy in the representation of the university of Cambridge; and after the defeat of Mr. Peel at Oxford, they did not wish to run the risk of another.

CHAP.
LXVI.

1829.

tion would be fully settled, and others would see that he had no other alternative than to act as he had acted. The result of the division was 353 for the second reading of the bill, and 180 against it: during its progress through the committee, several strong amendments were proposed, but all were rejected; and on the thirtieth of March it was read a third time, and passed.

Next day, Mr. Peel, with an unusually large escort of members, presented the bill at the bar of the lords, where it was read for the first time, on the same evening, without opposition. Here its opponents cherished some hopes that its progress might be ultimately arrested: but they were destined to be disappointed; for a great number of peers, who had hitherto opposed the measure, were now either satisfied that the moment had arrived, when the claims of the Roman catholics could no longer be resisted with safety, or were at least prepared to sacrifice their opinions to ministerial dictation. The second reading was moved by the duke of Wellington, on the second of April, in a speech replete with nervous eloquence and comprehensive reasoning; nor does the character of his grace exhibit a nobler trait than is to be found in that solemn, pathetic, and beautiful declaration, to which he gave utterance on this occasion. 'It has been my fortune,' he said, 'to have seen much of war,—more than most men; I have been constantly engaged in the active duties of the military profession from boyhood until I have grown gray; my life has been passed in familiarity with scenes of death and human suffering; circumstances have placed me in countries where the war was internal, between opposite parties of the same nation: and rather than a country I loved should be visited with the calamities which I have seen, with the unutterable horrors of a civil war,—I would run any risk; I would make any sacrifice; I would freely lay down my life.'

The archbishop of Canterbury, dreading the ul-

terior designs of the papists more than the consequences which might result from a refusal of their claims, moved an amendment, that the bill should be read a second time that day six months. The debate was continued by adjournment through four successive nights : the spiritual lords who spoke, beside the mover of the amendment, were the archbishops of York and Armagh, the bishops of London, Salisbury, Durham, and Oxford ; all of whom opposed the bill, except the last, whose position was peculiarly painful ; for whether it was, that he had been convinced by the arguments of his friend and pupil, Mr. Peel, or that a sense of gratitude induced him to lend his aid to his ministerial patrons,—he had to refute his own speech made in the preceding session ; and this change of sides, but more especially the sophistry with which he defended his altered sentiments, subjected him to the bitterest reproaches of party spirit : the public journals attacked him with the most virulent hostility, comparing him to Parker, the basest of apostates, who had been one of his predecessors in the see of Oxford ; which, added to the averted looks and altered tone of former friends, was more than his wounded spirit could bear ; and in a single month after this speech, so fatal to his character, had been uttered, the grave closed over his remains. Of the temporal peers, the principal defenders of the bill were the lord chancellor, the marquis of Lansdowne, viscount Goderich, the earl of Westmorland, and lord Plunkett : among these, lord chancellor Lyndhurst had the most difficult task to perform ; for up to this time he had been distinguished by his learned, earnest, and eloquent refutations of all the plans for concession, which were now repeated ; and all these refutations he also was called on to confute : even so late as last year, he had declared his conviction, that emancipation, though accompanied by weighty securities, was pregnant with danger to the constitution and establishment ; and

CHAP.
LXVI.

1829.

CHAP.
LXVI.

1829.

he now declared his equally conscientious conviction, that emancipation, without any securities at all, would be conducive to the safety and prosperity of that constitution and establishment. The public generally asserted, that this new creed had been adopted, because the duke of Wellington made it a condition of his holding the great seal: it may be, however, that the public erred; and that the chancellor found that strength within, which rendered him invulnerable to those shafts by which the unfortunate prelate fell. The marquis of Anglesea, who, three months before, had been recalled from his government of Ireland because he held out hopes of emancipation to its catholic population, now entered the ministerial phalanx which combated for that measure; insisting principally on the military points of view in which the question ought to be placed. 'Every man,' he said, 'acquainted with the state of Ireland, would agree with him, that in a time of profound peace, under the exclusive laws, 25,000 men was but a scanty garrison for that country; but in the event of war, or even the rumor of war, that would be an improvident government which did not immediately add to it a force of 15,000 men: 40,000 indeed would scarcely be sufficient under such circumstances. It could not be questioned, that both France and America wished to do us injury; and in case of collision with either of those powers, the first object of both would be to place arms in the hands of the discontented Irish: he argued on the supposition that the exclusive laws were in existence; for if not, those arms would not be received; or if received, would be turned against the donors. Suppose, however, that we were actually at war, having the European powers combined against us;—a contingency by no means unlikely: it would then be madness in any administration not to throw at least 70,000 men into Ireland: but let this bill pass; and then, if war should be declared, we should be able within six weeks to raise in that country

50,000 able-bodied and willing-hearted men, who would find their way to any quarter of the globe, whither we might choose to direct them.'

CHAP.
LXVI.

1829.

The duke of Richmond, the earls of Winchelsea, Harewood, Mansfield, Falmouth, and Enniskillen all strongly opposed the bill ; while lord Tenterden, the chief justice of England, declared against it, because he knew it to be a violation of the constitution ; and because he believed that it threatened ruin to the protestant church, which he valued, not only for the purity of its doctrines, but because, of all churches that ever existed, it was most favorable to civil and religious liberty : neither did he see any countervailing benefit likely to be gained by so fatal a sacrifice. After ably commenting on the various acts made to exclude papists from parliament, as well as from various offices of the state, his lordship declared his opinion, that the anticipated tranquillity of Ireland, as a result of this bill, would never be realised. Earl Grey spoke at great length ; repeating the argument, that an exclusion of catholics had not originally formed any part of the protestant government, since they had been found in parliament from the reign of Elizabeth down to that of Charles II. ; that the exclusion, when it did come, was adopted to guard against political dangers of a temporary nature, which had long since disappeared ; that it formed no essential part of the revolution settlement, or of the bill of rights ; also that the coronation oath was never intended to restrain the king from consenting to such alterations as parliament in its wisdom might enact : he also entered at great length into that important part of the question, which related to its bearing on the act of union with Scotland. As to the effect of this bill on the state of Ireland, he would not venture to say that it would at once bestow tranquillity, and remove all dangers ; but he was sure that, without such a measure, it was impossible to have tranquillity, or to be free from danger : by the exclusive system they had produced more than one rebellion

CHAP.
LXVI.

1829.

in Ireland, to be extinguished in blood;—but had tranquillity ensued? By no means: on the contrary, the condition of Ireland had been growing worse and worse every year, requiring a large military establishment to keep the people obedient to the laws, even in a state of peace. Was this the mode, he asked, of making that country a useful portion of the empire? Was this the way we should be preparing for war? But it was urged— if you pass this bill, catholic ascendancy is virtually established on the ruins of the protestant church. That church unfortunately was placed in a situation which could not be freed from difficulties of one sort or another: the great obstacle to its triumph had always been, that it had never been the church of more than a small minority of the Irish people; and that it had been so, was, in his opinion, a consequence of those very laws which they now sought to repeal: take them away, and the number of its disciples would immediately increase; not from the spirit of conversion, for any open attempt in that way would be most impolitic; but from its superior reason, and its more wholesome tenets, which would come more fairly into play, as soon as it should be relieved from that invidious situation in which it now stood: take away the false protection of exclusive laws, and superior excellence would prevail in the conflict of argument.

Lord Eldon, in obedience to a general call made on him by the house, spoke at great length, and with evident sincerity, on this important question; stating his belief, that ministers, who had introduced the bill, were actuated by a sense of duty to their country; though he lamented their conduct: neither could he acquit the duke of Wellington and Mr. Peel of wilfully deceiving the people, and bringing them into a state of apathy, by leading them into a persuasion that no measure of the kind would be brought forward, at least this session. With regard to the latter gentleman, his lordship feelingly observed;—
“ I mention him without the slightest degree of irri-

tation ; and if there be any unfavorable impression on his mind toward me, from thinking, that the old maxim, *idem velle atque idem nolle*, is the foundation of all true friendship both in public and private life ; I solemnly declare, that I suffered the most excruciating pang I ever endured, when I found that I differed on this question from one, whose concurrence in my opinions for the last fifteen years I found the most effective support.' On lord Lyndhurst, however, the ex-chancellor was more severe ; for that noble person had endeavored to excuse his own inconsistency by fixing on lord Eldon a charge of similar frailty. With regard to the measure itself, he did not rest any part of his opposition to it on the terms of the coronation oath ; neither would he contend that to alter any of the laws passed at the revolution was beyond the power of parliament : this, however, looking at the thirteenth, twenty-fifth, and thirtieth of Charles II. he maintained,—that the exclusion from parliament, produced by the last of those statutes, was in conformity with the true construction of the acts of 1688, and with the act of union between England and Scotland in the reign of Anne : these, he said, were meant to be the governing principles of our glorious constitution of 1688, until a strong necessity for altering it should be made apparent. His lordship went on to show the futility of the securities demanded, and of the measure itself, as it regarded the tranquillisation of Ireland ; being followed by lord Plunkett, who said, that he had reserved himself, for the purpose of hearing the unanswerable arguments against the bill, which lord Eldon, on former occasions, had threatened to produce, when the measure came fairly before the house : as that noble lord, however, had brought forth nothing but the *ipse dixit* of his own authority, unsustained either by ingenious argument, by historical deduction, or by appeal to public and authenticated documents, he felt himself so far absolved from the necessity of refuting anticipated arguments, that he would apply his observa-

CHAP.
LXVI.

1829.

tions more particularly to the position—that the bill was calculated to subvert the protestant constitution. After the noble and learned lord had dilated at great length on this topic, the duke of Wellington closed the debate by a general reply to the principal objections made against the measure. The apprehended danger to the Irish church, from the admission of a few Roman catholics into parliament, he treated as absurd, considering that the throne would be filled with a protestant: besides, a fundamental article of the union between the two countries was the union of the two churches; and it was impossible that any mischief could arise to the Irish branch of this united church, without destroying the union of the kingdoms: he next adverted to the charge of inconsistency brought against himself and his colleagues; observing, that he well knew the sacrifice they would make in adopting this measure, and how much more popularity they might gain by placing themselves at the head of the protestant league, with the cry of ‘No popery!’ but they felt, that in so doing, they would have left on the interests of the country a burden to bear all down, and that they would have deserved the hate and execration of their fellow citizens. With regard to the secrecy with which he had been accused, his grace begged leave to say, that his noble and learned friend had done that to him, which he complained of others having done to himself; or, to use the words of a right honorable and mutual friend, ‘he had thrown at him a large paving-stone, instead of a small pebble:’ in this he had not acted fairly, since he knew how the cabinet was constructed with regard to this question; and could he declare, that the prime minister had a right to say a single word to any person whatever on the measure, until the person most interested of all in the kingdom, had consented to his speaking out? Before his lordship accused him of improper secrecy, he ought to have known the precise day on which he was permitted to open his mouth: with regard to what had been

observed respecting a dissolution of parliament, he declared his opinion, that noble lords were mistaken in their notion of the advantages which they anticipated from such a measure; and were not aware of the consequences and inconveniences of a dissolution at that particular time. ‘But,’ said his grace, ‘when I knew the state of the elective franchise in Ireland—when I recollected the number of men it took to watch one election that took place there last summer—when I foresaw the consequences which a dissolution would produce on the returns to the house of commons, to say nothing of the risks at each election, and the collisions that might have led to something like a civil war—knowing, I say, all these things, I should have been wanting in duty to my sovereign and to my country, if I had advised his majesty to dissolve his parliament.’ The second reading was determined by the votes of 217 peers against 112: on the seventh and eighth of April, the bill passed through a committee, in which many amendments were moved, but none carried: on the tenth, it was read a third time, after another debate, notwithstanding the persevering resistance of its opponents; and three days afterwards, it received its final confirmation in the royal assent.

Passing of
catholic re-
lief bill.

If any man had fondly imagined that the removal of disabilities from Roman catholics would prove an immediate or sufficient cure for the disorders of Ireland, he must either have been very ignorant of the state of that country, or have wilfully deceived himself: protestant ascendancy was too deeply and extensively rooted in all its institutions to admit of such a remedy; nor was it likely, that the Roman catholics, having acquired means to break their chain, would remain long without trying their efficiency. One fault was, that the measure itself had been gained by agitation, not granted generously as a boon: but no method of granting it would have completely satisfied the Irish; and all the benefit which ought to have been expected from it, was the allaying of heats, and the assuaging of animosities,

CHAP.
LXVI.

1829.

Disfranchisement
of forty-
shilling
freeholders.

until other measures could be introduced, which might have the effect of ameliorating the condition of the country, by establishing such security for life and property, that no person would be afraid to lay out his capital there, or to exert his industry: it is only in the bosom of national tranquillity that national prosperity and wealth can be produced.

Emancipation having been gained, Mr. Peel brought in a bill to disfranchise the Irish forty-shilling freeholders, and raise the qualification to ten pounds: this was part and parcel of the general measure, and it met with no serious opposition even in Ireland; for the association was extinct, the peasantry were tired of the privilege, and the landlords were not very anxious to retain those instruments of bribery and corruption, which had recoiled on themselves: the measure, however, was one of great importance; for it has preserved some balance in the Irish representation, by keeping a portion of it still in the hands of protestant landholders, and has accordingly been a favorite subject of reprobation among agitators of all degrees. The great leader of that class presented himself, on the fifteenth of May, to redeem his pledge, by offering to take his seat for Clare: on the success of this application he had staked his professional reputation, and he attempted to secure it by two pleas: the first resting only on a legal quibble, that the act of union, though it forbade a Roman catholic to sit in parliament, imposed no penalties on him for doing so; the second, more plausible, as founded on the enactments of the new statute; although this was expressly limited to 'such persons, professing the Roman catholic religion, as should, after its commencement, be returned members of the house of commons.' Both these pleas were overruled, after long debates, and an elaborate argument of Mr. O'Connell himself at the bar of the house: but if the provision, which excluded the great agitator from his seat, was designed, as report went, in a paltry spirit of hostility against the man, it had no other effect than that of sending him back

to be re-elected by his constituents; and inflaming him with resentment against those, whom he viewed in the light of persecutors: in place therefore of that gratitude with which all catholics were to receive emancipation, their champion now loaded ministers with the most opprobrious epithets, as men, who, having been false to their own party, could never be true to any other: in a similar spirit, he announced his ulterior design to effect a repeal of the union by that system of agitation, which had already proved so successful; and this purpose he deliberately followed up by the most inflammatory harangues, and various other methods of popular excitement.

CHAP.
LXVI.

1829.

. Almost the whole interest of this session was absorbed in the one great question: during its discussion in parliament, it occasioned a duel between the duke of Wellington and the earl of Winchelsea; and after its final settlement, it produced very important consequences, by driving a large body of ultra tories, through pique, into the ranks of the reformers: these were unjustly indignant at the duke and his satellites for precipitating a measure, which could not have been long stayed; since the numerical majority of Irish catholics, inflamed against a dominant minority, was so great, that nothing less than a complete conquest of the country would have kept them in subjection: but how could that conquest have been effected, when a majority of the British house of commons was in favor of emancipation? As the commons of England hold the strings of the purse, how could the sinews of war have been supplied without their concurrence? It may be said perhaps, that resort should have been had to a dissolution of parliament: but it is certain, that this measure had lost its interest with a very large portion of the nation; while not a few were anxious to close at all hazards a question, which had long disturbed tranquillity, and become a serious obstacle to the transaction of public business: besides, the whigs were a powerful body; and

State of
political
parties.

CHAP.
LXVI.

1829.

being, as they would have been, joined by the moderates and every other party, except that of the high church tories, they would inevitably have carried the elections in their favor; so that, as the duke of Wellington observed in his place, there would have been all the hazard of a collision approaching to a civil war, without any probability of a result favorable to the adversaries of emancipation.

Financial
statements.

On the eighth of May, the chancellor of the exchequer opened his budget with the gratifying intelligence, that the revenue of the preceding year had so far exceeded his estimate, as to have left a clear surplus of nearly £6,000,000 for the sinking fund: but for the present year, as the house was anxious to abolish the absurd system of defraying the expense of military and naval pensions, or the 'dead weight,' as it was called, by postponing its burdens, he estimated the gross revenue at £51,347,000, and the expenditure at £48,333,593; by which means he left only a clear sinking-fund of £3,000,000 for diminishing the public debt. After this financial statement, which produced but little discussion, the prorogation of parliament was preceded by no measure of importance, except an abortive motion for parliamentary reform: it was introduced by the marquis of Blandford, one of those members of the ultra tory faction, who, in disgust at the conduct of the present ministry and parliament, had been converted into reformers, quite as suddenly and inconsistently, as the men, of whose apostasy they complained, had become liberal and tolerant. 'After what had happened,' said his lordship, 'the country demanded some statutory provision, to secure its agriculture, its manufactures, and its trade; but more especially to secure protestant interests against the influx and increase of the Roman catholic party: one mode of securing this, and at the same time of purifying the representation, would be to abolish the borough-market, which had now been thrown open to catholics.'

The noble mover of this question was in a situation similar to that of the lamb in the fable, which called on the wolf, little knowing how near he was to the fold: the motion was made rather in the nature of a notice, than with any design of having the topics which it embraced fully discussed at this late period of the session: it was, however, hailed and supported by some of the old reformers, though on very different grounds from that dislike of free trade, and apprehension of catholic influence, which animated the mover; while Mr. W. Smith, in voting for the resolutions, expressed great satisfaction that the relief bill had produced one effect which its best friends had not anticipated;—the transformation of many among the highest Tories of the land into something very like radical reformers.

CHAP.
LXVI.

1829.

Parliament was prorogued by commission on the twenty-fourth of June; about which time, the legal arrangements, rendered necessary by the dismissal of Sir Charles Wetherell, were completed. Sir James Scarlett, who had filled the office of attorney-general under Mr. Canning, now consented to serve under the duke of Wellington; and that the anomaly of again passing over the head of the solicitor-general might be avoided, the latter was promoted to the first seat in the court of common pleas; chief-justice Best being removed into the house of peers, under the title of lord Wynford, and Mr. Sugden, the eminent chancery barrister, made solicitor-general: but the most important change was, the retirement of the duke of Clarence from his popular administration of the admiralty, and the return of viscount Melville as first lord.

Changes in
the cabinet.

The foreign affairs which require notice, as affecting Great Britain, were principally those in the East, where Turkey, now at the mercy of the Russian autocrat, was obliged to sue for peace. The terms granted were as follow:—the Pruth to constitute the European limit, as before; but Silistria to be dismantled: an alteration to be made in the Asiatic boundaries; so that the whole eastern coast

Review of
foreign
politics.

CHAP.
LXVI.

1829.

of the Black Sea, from the Kuban to the harbor of St. Nicholas, together with the fortresses of Anapa and Poti, should remain in possession of Russia: the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia to be confirmed in their rights; but the Hospodars to be nominated only for life, and no Turks allowed to dwell there: free trade on the Black Sea, and navigation through the Straits for vessels belonging to Russia, as well as all other countries at peace with the Porte: the sultan to defray the expenses of the war; and, finally, to accede to the treaties concluded at London, regarding the Greeks. Thus, while Russia cautiously but secretly advanced nearer and nearer to the grand object of its ambitious sovereigns, Greece came to be admitted into the list of European states, and fresh prospects unfolded themselves for the East. On the twenty-second of March, a protocol had been signed for the purpose of fixing the undetermined limits of the new kingdom; but it was now agreed to circumscribe its territory within a much narrower space: instead of adopting any boundary marked out by nature,—even that which would have comprehended the gulf of Volo on the east, and Arta on the west; and which would have left the Grecian state, though still too small, yet compact and defensible,—it was now proposed to draw the line still farther to the south, commencing on the east at Zeitoun, near Thermopylæ, and running across the country in the direction of Vlachori, till it reached the river Aspropotamos, whose course it was to follow as far as the sea; thus excluding, not only Thessaly, but Acarnania also; and leaving the whole western frontier of northern Greece open to, or rather inviting the attacks of, its barbarian foes: and this determination was made without the wishes of the people being consulted, or any communication made to the Greek government. It seemed as if British statesmen were only anxious to leave a perpetual cause of strife, war, and bloodshed, which might afterwards turn to the account of Russia.

The session of the states general of the kingdom of the Netherlands, in the present year, was less tranquil and satisfactory than any that had been held since the restoration: though the king himself continued popular; his government had produced general dissatisfaction by some obnoxious measures; particularly by dismissing judges who were supposed to be too obstinate; by great partiality in its official appointments; and by exercising much severity against the press, when it happened to criticise the policy of administration. When the states general met, the second chamber was immediately occupied in discussing an immense number of petitions, recommending improvement in the existing system; but though some amelioration was made, government rejected the proposal, that cases of alleged abuse of the liberty of the press should be tried by a jury: it also successfully opposed itself to the introduction of grand juries, and the extension of jury trials to the provincial courts and other criminal tribunals: on the other hand, a body in the chamber resisted and censured all its measures; and the session ended with more excitement than it had shown at its commencement. In France, the session closed, after much embarrassment; and a new ministry was formed, under the presidency of prince Polignac; all the members of which belonged to the extreme right, or that section which was known to the public as advocates of irresponsible power in politics, and of spiritual domination in religion. Nothing could exceed the unpopularity of these appointments, more especially those of M. Bourmont, who claimed the confidence of the French monarch for having betrayed Napoleon at Waterloo; and of Labourdonnaye, who had signalled himself by recommending a terrific system of proscription, and had formally classified those descriptions of people on whom he demanded vengeance. Incessant prosecutions of the press, which boldly denounced these ministers and their policy, tended only to increase the indignation of the pub-

CHAP.
LXVI.

1829.

lic ; and associations were formed to resist the payment of taxes, in case ministers should attempt to rule without a chamber : prosecutions then increased in number ; divisions arose in the cabinet itself, and M. de Labourdonnaye retired : nevertheless, the expression of public opinion against the administration continued as strong and unanimous as ever.

In Portugal, Don Miguel began to show his true colors : after a premature attempt at insurrection, in favor of Donna Maria, had failed at Oporto, the usurper made use of this occurrence to multiply arrests in the capital : every individual, whom any creature of government disliked, or any private enemy chose to denounce by an anonymous accusation, was instantly consigned to the dungeons of the Limoeiro, or of St. Julian ; while the sentence of exile pronounced by a special commission on the conspirators of Oporto, was arbitrarily converted into capital punishment by the tyrant : in comparison, however, with death, the condition of the prisoners, with whom the jails and fortresses were crowded to suffocation, was scarcely to be envied : though all were uncondemned, and most of them innocent, the whole were delivered over to the merciless authority of apostolic miscreants, who seemed to find no gratification so great as that of inventing new modes of misery. Among the incarcerated were many affluent persons, who charitably contributed to support the poorer prisoners, whom their tyrants were willing to leave in utter starvation : to deprive the latter of this alleviation of misery, government ordered the former to be removed from the dungeons of the city, and immured in the fortresses of St. Julian, Belem, and Bugio : without being brought to trial, every one was cut off from all communication, by speech or writing, even with the members of his own family : many died by famine and suffocation ; and suspicion was strong that in some instances poison had seconded the jealousy of the tyrant : no rank, sex, or character was respected : a child, five years old, was kept in solitary confinement five days, and subjected to all

the tortures of a prison, to extort evidence against its father and mother; a refugee Spanish bishop, who had been a member of the Cortes of 1812, and had since lived in obscurity and peace at Lisbon, was thrust into the dungeons of St. Julian, where he died within four days, in consequence of the brutal treatment he received from Telles Jordao, a wretch worthy of the worst times of the inquisition, to whom was entrusted the government of that fortress for the very purpose of torturing its wretched inmates. All the acts of the usurper were encouraged by his execrable mother, who took advantage of a season, during which her son was confined by an accident, to infuse her own diabolical spirit into the police, by removing a minister who had sufficed for Miguel, and replacing him by a minion of her own. The same sanguinary scenes were acted at Oporto as at Lisbon, where the rage of the tyrant was backed by the bigotry of the priests, who in their sermons and publications applauded the work of death and devastation, as an acceptable offering to the Divine Majesty. One Jose Agostino, a monk and court preacher, published a pamphlet, called 'The Beast Flayed,' urging the necessity of multiplying sacrifices, and recommending that the constitutionalists should be hanged up by the feet, and 'the people joyfully treated daily with fresh meat from the gallows.' To crown the atrocities of Don Miguel, he who had conspired against his father, who had usurped the throne of his brother, who had laughed at promises made, and oaths sworn, in the face of Europe, now attempted to assassinate his own sister, because she had been Don Pedro's regent, and had been faithful to his constitution: irritated by the absence of one of her servants, whom he suspected to have been sent to England for the purpose of making known the dreadful state of the country, this modern Nero burst into her room with a pistol, to which a bayonet was affixed, and attempted to strike her; but her chamberlain, the conde Camarido, who threw himself before the

CHAP.
LXVI.

1829.

royal assassin, received the blow : he then fired at the princess ; but the ball missed her, and killed a servant by her side : other domestics, however, interfered, and she was hurried away from his fury.

The necessities of the government increased, notwithstanding a forced issue of paper money ; and recourse was had to the most rigid and ruinous expedients to fit out an expedition against Terceira, one of the Azores, and the only spot within the dominions of Portugal which remained true to its rightful monarch : thither the count Villa Flor, who, with the marquis Palmella and nineteen other general officers, had been condemned in his absence, had contrived to escape, and taken the chief command ; but though the expedition sailed from Lisbon in the middle of June, and the troops succeeded in effecting a landing, they were totally defeated by the islanders under Villa Flor. In the mean time, the tyrant's interest was supported at Madrid by the great influence of his mother over the family of Ferdinand, who himself regarded Miguel with peculiar complacency, from the circumstance of his having destroyed a constitutional government : in the course therefore of the present year, he acknowledged his title to the throne of Portugal, although the other sovereigns of Europe still kept aloof from any communication with his government : the Portuguese refugees, indeed, and the ministers of Don Pedro, insisted that they ought to do more, and drive him from his throne by positive interference : these applications were addressed particularly to the British ministry, on the strength of treaties subsisting between the two countries ; but lord Aberdeen, though he admitted to their fullest extent the obligations created by those treaties, maintained that they gave no countenance to the demand of an armed interference on our part, in order to remedy the consequences of an internal revolution : considering that no distinction ought to be made between the two claimants of the Portuguese crown, ministers professed their resolution

to observe a strict neutrality in regard to all military operations: when therefore a considerable number of Portuguese exiles resident on our southern coast appeared to have some design of fitting out an expedition, the Brazilian minister was informed that government would not permit such a scheme to be carried on in British harbors; and that for security's sake the refugees must remove farther from the coast: the envoy then declared, that those troops were about to be conveyed to Brazil; and accordingly, four vessels, having on board 652 officers and men, under the command of count Saldanha, set sail from Plymouth; but the British ministry, suspecting their intention of landing at Terceira, despatched an armed force, under captain Walpole of the *Ranger*, to cruise before that island, with instructions to use force, if necessary, to drive them from the coast; also to keep them in sight, until convinced, by the course they were steering, and the distance to which they had proceeded, that they had no intention of returning to the western isles. The suspicions of our government were in this instance justified; for the Portuguese armament appeared off Terceira, and was discovered by captain Walpole standing right in for Port Praya: two shots were then fired for the purpose of bringing them to, but without effect; when the ship, on board of which was Saldanha himself, appearing determined to push in at all hazards, a shot from point-blank distance was fired into her, which killed one man, and wounded another: the vessels then lay to; and after an angry correspondence, the Portuguese were driven off, and watched by the British commander, until they arrived within 500 miles of Scilly; captain Walpole then returned to his station, and count Saldanha proceeded to Brest.

This occurrence excited much notice in Europe, and was brought under discussion in the British parliament; being represented as a direct act of hostility in favor of the usurper against the acknowledged queen of Portugal, then residing in

CHAP.
LXVI.

1829.

England: it was considered as an armed interference in favor of Miguel, at the very moment when we pretended that the duties of neutrality prevented our interference; and it was asked, if we were not bound by treaties to assist the queen in recovering her crown, whence arose our right to prevent her from making any attempt by means of her own subjects? Why, when recognising her right, refusing to admit the title of Miguel, and pretending to maintain a strict impartiality, had we interfered by force against a lawful sovereign?

In answer to this, it was alleged, that the warlike armament lately attacked, had been fitted out in an English port: whether the observance of neutrality between two competitors for the crown of Portugal, one claiming it by direct succession, the other by a vote of the Cortes, and in actual possession, was right or wrong, appeared in this case a matter of indifference; but as it had been decided on, no other course could justly have been taken; and if Miguel's armament had been fitted out in a British port, it would have met with a similar interruption. In fact, if ministers were to be attacked, the object of attack ought to have been the maintenance of neutrality towards a perjured tyrant, who had voluntarily sworn to our government that he would obey the laws, and preserve the constitution of his country; not their adoption of proceedings, which that maintenance of neutrality rendered imperative. In the mean time, negotiations had been going on at Rio Janeiro between Don Pedro and the ministers of England and Austria, to effect some arrangement of affairs; while a deputation had been sent by the Portuguese constitutionalists, to point out the true state of those affairs, and urge him to adopt active measures: Pedro, however, refused to accept propositions from foreign negotiators, which involved any sacrifice of his daughter's claims; while he assured the Portuguese, that he would act so as to show his determination to maintain the rights of their queen, without entering into any compromise

with the usurper of her throne: he did not, however, strengthen the hopes of his friends, at this time, by the resolution which he adopted of recalling his daughter from England to Brazil; and the British government itself remonstrated with him on the impolicy of that step: but he had ulterior objects in view, which it was impossible for them to penetrate.

CHAP.
LXVI.

1829.

The history of Spain this year furnishes but few events of importance: in the early part of it, Ferdinand lost his queen; and before its close, he contracted a third marriage with a princess of Naples, to the great dissatisfaction of the adherents of his brother, Don Carlos: conspiracies in Catalonia, supposed to have been excited by the count d'Espagne for the sake of private advantage, were followed by cruel executions; but the rest of the country remained tranquil: its finances, however, were in so dreadful a state of exhaustion from a long continuance of misgovernment and exclusion, that Cadiz was declared a free port, in the hope of alluring back foreign commerce to one of its old and favorite haunts: but at this very time, the Spanish government, which had been driven from the English money market by its faithless conduct respecting the Cortes bonds, ran the risk of losing its credit with all European states, by a discovery of its fraud in the celebrated case of the French loan. It would lead us too far from our limits to detail the affairs of the South American states; but those provinces, though lost to Spain, were as yet far from the attainment of internal tranquillity.

Toward the end of this year, the attention of the British nation was withdrawn from foreign transactions to the general and increasing distress of its own population among the agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial classes: the undoubted existence of this distress was assigned to various causes, according to the conflicting tenets or interests of the reasoners: free trade, a metallic currency, and the low prices of agricultural produce, were each insisted on

Commer-
cial and
agricultural
distress.

CHAP.
LXVI.

1829.

as the origin of those evils which afflicted the country; while the prohibitory system in commerce, an unrestricted paper currency, and high protective duties for the corn-grower, were proposed in turn, with equal confidence, as remedies. Whatever causes aggravated the general suffering at this period, its chief origin might be traced to the enormous pressure of our national debt, arising from a reckless war expenditure, which bore heavily on productive industry: to the evils which affected the agricultural classes, were to be added the fatal effects of the poor laws, tending to ruin the farmer by the same system of expenditure which demoralised the laborer; also that reduction of the circulating medium completed last year; which, by almost doubling taxation and crippling industry, contributed to augment the general perplexity and dissatisfaction. With regard to our manufacturing and commercial interests, the competition of other nations, since the peace, had destroyed those high profits which counterbalanced the exactions of the revenue: neither had trade yet recovered itself, or commercial enterprise regained its elasticity, since the year 1826, when speculation, with its consequent panic, occasioned such immense pecuniary losses: nor can it be denied, that the new system of trade and commerce increased the evil, by throwing numerous hands out of employment, in its transition state from restriction to comparative freedom. To these more serious causes of calamity were added a bad harvest and a severe winter; all which contributed to bring the productive classes of the community, and especially the lowest orders, into a state of suffering and misery, which every one, except the minister and his adherents, together with those who lived on the produce of the taxes, acknowledged to be real: unfortunately, the wretched artisans, ignorantly ascribing the reduction of wages, not to the necessities of trade, but to the avarice of their employers, had recourse to their usual correctives, voluntary idleness and destruction of property. The example was set by the silk-weavers of

Spitalfields and Bethnal-green, and the mischief done had not been equalled for sixty years : the same spirit showed itself at Macclesfield and Coventry ; nor did the manufacturing districts of Yorkshire escape the contagion : in all these places, machinery to an immense amount was destroyed ; and the artisans who showed a disposition to labor in their vocation rather than to riot, were subjected to the most violent outrages from their fellow-workmen, until the influx of military, and the apprehension of many active rioters, restored some degree of tranquillity. Lawless and mischievous as these proceedings were, a vast load of deplorable misery lay at the bottom : so low indeed were the wages received in many branches of manufacture at this period, that a report, drawn up at Huddersfield by a committee of masters appointed to investigate the condition of the working people, stated, ‘ that within the several townships engaged in fancy business, there were 13,000 individuals, who had not more than two-pence halfpenny per day to live on ; and, out of this, they had to find wear and tear for looms.’

CHAP.
LXVI.

1829.

With regard to Ireland, that unfortunate country had been thrown into such a state of excitement by the harangues of the member for Clare, that scenes of violence and outrage, like those from which the emancipation bill was to relieve it, soon presented themselves : the feelings of parties still continued in full force ; hostile meetings, with a considerable loss of life, took place in the counties of Armagh, Leitrim, Cavan, and Monaghan, where nothing but the presence of a military force prevented open war ; while in Tipperary, matters proceeded to such a length, that the magistrates expressed an unanimous opinion, that nothing but a revival of the insurrection act would secure the peace of the country : this however could not be effected ; for it had not been suspended, but had actually expired, and parliament was not sitting.

State of
Ireland.

It certainly was soon perceived, that catholic

CHAP.
LXVI.

1830.

emancipation had failed to lay the spirit of discontent; and that the pacification of the sister island still remained to exercise the ingenuity of British statesmen. Ireland never has been, nor is she likely soon to be, cordially united with her conquerors: so feeble indeed is the connexion, that it would long ago have been dissolved, but for the superior might of England: yet if Ireland has always been a drag on this country; if she has been a source of weakness rather than of strength; an angry foe instead of an attached friend;—she has been what the general conduct of England made her: even during the period when the religion of the two nations was the same, the state of affairs was but little better; for a spirit of tyranny and rapacity was ever at work, transferring the rich lands of that unfortunate country to her ruthless invaders; and the fiery disposition of her sons was purposely roused by insults and injuries to rebellion, in order that they might be plundered with a greater show of propriety by their oppressors: the reformation never obtained a footing among her native inhabitants; and instead of allowing to others that freedom which we claimed ourselves, we employed our troops to turn the priests out of their churches and livings, which parliament transferred to the clergy of its own communion, though their adherents did not amount to one tenth of the population. When this transfer, however, was effected, a large portion of the landed property still belonged to the catholic nobility and gentry; so that their spiritual guides were not wholly left to depend on the contributions of a starving peasantry: but the Irish having taken part with the Stuart dynasty, nearly nine tenths of the intire property of the realm were confiscated under Cromwell and William III., and given to protestants: these, looking up to England for support, considered the poor natives, hutted on their estates, rather as implacable foes than as tenants and dependents: hence the little sympathy that has ever existed between the upper and lower classes. Indeed, most of the land-

holders soon quitted the country, letting their estates to middlemen, by whom they were sublet, on the most exorbitant terms, to the wretched peasants, who have been brought to the lowest state of misery of all the serfs in Europe: in the mean time, a comparatively small party, under the banners of an Orange confederacy, have held a most tyrannical sway over the land, perverting or denying justice, and perpetuating every where the most intolerable abuses.

CHAP.
LXVI.

1839.

When the foundation of this system was laid, the population of Ireland did not exceed 2,000,000; but it has now risen to 8,000,000, of which no less than 6,500,000 are catholics; so that all arrangements derogatory to their character and interests daily become more offensive: besides, by their own exertions they have acquired political power, and are enabled to return a large body of representatives to parliament. Of these circumstances the great agitator has taken advantage; urging the people to remonstrate, to proclaim their wrongs, and to demand full participation in all those salutary institutions, which they were taught to expect when they consented to the union: at the same time, while he stimulates them to claim equal privileges and equal laws, he represses outrage, and teaches them to agitate within the pale of the law, and by legal means.

Against these their claims there exist many and strong antagonist forces. There is that in the very nature of popery which seems to forbid protestants to arm it with power, or to advance its interests; there is the influence of great families, enriched with Irish spoil, who have by length of time acquired a title to this property; there is a tory faction in England, desirous of punishing the Irish people for contributing so effectually to extinguish their privileges and reform the British legislature; nor are they less anxious to uphold in full vigor a church establishment, which has always proved most fruitful

CHAP.
LXVI.

1830.

in advantages to the scions of the aristocracy. Thus the whole empire has been kept in a perpetual ferment, to the grievous injury of all classes; nor has any definite plan of remedial measures yet been proposed, without being found impracticable or insufficient. One party, ascribing all the evil to popery, declares that a leaf must be taken out of William the Conqueror's book; and that a system, so false and anti-social, so incompatible with civil and religious liberty, must be extirpated. Another asserts, with equal confidence, that the grand nuisance is the protestant establishment; which, being repudiated by the great mass of the people, ought to be cut down to the immediate wants and necessities of those who respect its doctrines. Others ascribe the existing misery to absentee landlords, and a want of provision for the destitute poor. True, says a different set; a body of men more indifferent to the welfare of their tenantry and laborers does not exist, than the Irish landed proprietors; but to charge these persons with all the evils which afflict the country, is as absurd as to lay them at the door of the established church: their root lies far back; for it has been the custom, from time immemorial, to divide the paternal inheritance, whether freehold or leasehold, among every surviving member of the family; which division and subdivision of property cuts the land into patches, and rapidly breeds an agricultural population, clothed in rags, fed on potatoes, and worked like slaves: in order, therefore, to produce any degree of comfort, the first step must be to clear away the present occupants of the soil, rather than to stereotype the evil by a system of parochial settlements;—emigration consequently is the best mode of relief. Not a few advise the outlay of capital in Ireland, and the employment of her redundant population in works of general utility; forgetting, that before this can be done, tranquillity must be established by some other means; since no capitalist will expend his money, or exert his indus-

try, where life and property are insecure ; where ' his yard-measure is a sword, and his ledger only a return of killed and wounded.'

CHAP.
LXVI.

1830.

Thus, encompassed with evils, the unhappy country has clung, with a species of unerring instinct, to its great agitator, who accelerated the first grand measure which opened a prospect of independence to catholic Ireland: even from their miserable pittance, the half-starved peasantry joyfully contribute a portion to remunerate their benefactor, for the loss of time, and sacrifice of professional emoluments ; and, while his power, greater than that which any subject of this empire ever before possessed, is met by scoffs and insults in some quarters, and by alarm and terror, or indignant denunciation, in others, he proceeds in his course ; flinging back the reproaches of his adversaries, and taunting them as the instruments which raised him to this height. ' Recall this power,' he says, ' which you have given me, by the concession of justice to my country : then shall I sink back into the ranks of the people, and become as harmless as the lowest peasant.'

Under such evils, mixed up as they are with the very form and constitution of society in Ireland, the most important business of the empire is interrupted ; a military force is kept up in the country as large as that which is necessary for the protection of British India ; and the very existence of an administration depends on the countenance which it may receive from a body of Irish agitators. To predict how long such a state of things can last, or to point out how it can be altered, is not necessarily demanded of the historian : he has fulfilled his duty, when he has fairly and impartially laid the case before his readers : but, as it is impossible to remedy these evils by force of arms, in the present disposition of the British house of commons and of the Irish agitators, the great aim of our legislators should be the discovery of a different mode of cure. This, in fact, is now the grand problem in our national policy. While to its solution

CHAP.
LXVI.

1830.

Domestic
events.

the abilities of statesmen are steadily directed, all party feeling should be laid aside, all animosity forgotten: it is only to be effected in a time of peace; and if war should overtake us in circumstances which might be called a premium for invasion, Ireland would probably be lost to us for ever.

Our domestic annals this year were marked by the conflagration of York Minster, that glory of English architecture: great part of the choir, with the organ, fell a sacrifice to the devouring element; but the noble east window was fortunately preserved with little damage: the fire was traced to a man named Martin, who was subsequently tried for the crime at York, and found to be insane: but a meeting was immediately held, and a sufficient subscription raised by the nobility and gentry of this great aristocratic county, for the purpose of restoring its magnificent cathedral, after the original plan, under the direction of Mr. Smirke. London received additional beauty and convenience from the opening of the new Fleet, or Farringdon Market, forming a handsome quadrangle of 232 feet by 150, and standing on a surface of one acre and a half: the purchase of its site, and the expense of buildings, was estimated at about £280,000. The New Post Office also, in St. Martin's-le-Grand, one of the finest edifices by which the capital is ornamented, was opened in September for the transaction of business: the improved system now adopted enables the inland officers to sort and arrange the letters by eight o'clock; and at half-past eight they are ready for delivery: the letter carriers are then conveyed with great celerity to different parts of the town, in vehicles built after the manner of an omnibus. A still more important alteration however took place this year in the police establishment of our metropolis, for the institution of which the public owes a large debt of gratitude to Mr. Peel.^a In the admirable regulations drawn up for the instruction of

^a Now Sir Robert Peel.

this domestic force, the grand object attended to was the prevention of crime : the whole metropolitan district was formed into five local divisions, each division into eight sections, and each section into eight beats ; the limits of all being clearly defined, and distinguished by letters and numbers ; the force itself was divided into companies, each company having one superintendant, four inspectors, sixteen serjeants, and 144 police constables ; being also subdivided into sixteen parties, each consisting of a serjeant and nine men : accurate rules were laid down for the commencement and regulation of their duty ; and during the late times of change produced by the imperative nature of circumstances on our institutions, nothing has contributed more to the repression of tumult, and to the security of person and property, than this admirably constructed corps.

It was not without some excitement of public indignation, that, when parliament assembled on the fourth of February, the royal speech contained only a very qualified admission of the existence of national distress. In the latter part of the preceding year, the premier had made an extensive tour through various districts of the country ; but having been confined almost wholly to the mansions of his noble hosts, where the most splendid hospitality awaited him, he had very little opportunity of witnessing the misery under which the lower orders were at this time groaning : accordingly, as he may be said to have seen none, he very confidently asserted that none existed ; and as it is not usual to dispute the word of a military premier, the other members of administration, somewhat in the manner of a Turkish divan, bowed their heads submissively to the dictates of their chief.

Meeting of
parliament.

In the house of commons, however, this incorrect and injudicious assertion produced so much indignation, that Sir Edward Knatchbull, a county member of the high tory party, proposed an amendment to the address, assuring his majesty, ' that

CHAP.
LXVI.

1830.

distress was general among all the productive classes of the community ;' and being supported by 105 votes, he left ministers in the small majority of 158. The amendment, proposed in the upper house by earl Stanhope, being vitiated by his notions on the currency question, was supported by a minority of only nine. The cession of the catholic claims had produced a sort of approximation between the duke of Wellington and the whig party, who became unwilling to abandon him to tory vengeance, though their friendship was but lukewarm and self-interested ; without it, however, the ministerial forces must have been routed at the very opening of the campaign. Lord Blandford, next day, when the report was brought up, moved what he called ' a wholesome admonition to the throne,' by way of appendage to the address ; but this vindictive effusion, though seconded by Mr. O'Connell, and teeming with denunciations against the corrupt borough system, was repudiated by all true reformers, and found only eleven voices to vote in its favor. Fair warning, however, was given to ministers, that they must enter into a closer connexion with the whigs, if they wished to reckon on their support : Sir Francis Burdett, in his speech, said, that ' when the prime minister of England was found so shamefully insensible to the suffering and distress which were painfully apparent throughout the land ; when, instead of meeting such an overwhelming pressure of calamity with some measure of relief, or at least, some attempt at it, he sought to stifle every important inquiry ; when he called that a partial and temporary evil, which was both long-lived and universal ;—he could not look on such a mournful crisis, in which public misfortune was insulted by ministerial apathy, without hailing any prospect of change in the system that produced it. What should we say to the ignorance, that could attribute our distresses to the introduction of machinery, and the application of steam,—that noblest among human inventions, to which men of science and intelligence

mainly ascribed our prosperity? He felt a high and unfeigned respect for the illustrious premier's abilities in the field; but he could not help now thinking, that he did himself no less than justice, when he said, a few months before he accepted his present office, that he should be fit to inhabit an asylum of a certain nature, if he ever were induced to take such a burden on his shoulders: in fact, both he (Sir Francis) and many honorable members around him, had long treated this illustrious individual with much tenderness, because they felt that he had conferred immense benefit on his country: he was the only man in England who could have accomplished what he had done; but his praise had been in proportion, and his recompense commensurate, in returns of confidence and approbation: the time, however, was now come, when it would be necessary to do more.'

A motion for inquiry into the state of national distress by a committee of the whole house of peers, was made by lord Stanhope; when the earl of Eldon found himself in the strange and unusual situation of an opposition lord, accusing his ancient colleagues of coming down to parliament with a declaration that there were 'other causes' for the distress of the country, which they did not deem it expedient to specify; and which they left to each man's sagacity to guess at as he might. The duke of Wellington, whilst he still denied that the existence of distress was so extensive as had been represented, and supported his opinion by the augmented consumption of various articles, by the increase of buildings, by the state of the saving banks, and by the advancing traffic on railroads and canals, maintained that the power of redress was beyond the reach of parliament; and he defied noble lords opposite to do any thing on the subject, which should be at once politic and satisfactory, expedient and efficacious: was it then right for parliament to interfere, where it was utterly impossible to do good? The noble mover might recommend a

CHAP.
LXVI.

1830.

committee ; but to what end would they follow his counsel, if he could lead them no farther ? and not one step farther could he go.

The marquis of Lansdowne had no hesitation in stating what he confidently thought were the causes of distress : though he was fully aware that much of it might have been produced by transition from a state of war to peace, yet he could not help recollecting, that a very great part of the difficulties, out of which we now had to extricate ourselves, was to be ascribed to that fatal perseverance, with which, during so many years, we had persisted in contracting permanent money engagements in a depreciated currency : that was the root of the present evil ; but, in saying so, he did not forget, that unfortunate as those engagements were, they nevertheless were engagements, which the honor of parliament was bound to respect, and which we must find means to discharge : it was, however, one thing to see the cause, and another to point out a remedy : the only one which he saw at present likely to unite all opinions, was retrenchment, qualified by a diminution of taxation. Lord King proposed, as an amendment, the appointment of a select committee ; but this was received with as little favor as the original motion, which was lost, on a division, by 118 against 25.

But the most remarkable debate arose in the house of commons, on a similar motion made by Mr. Davenport. In the course of its discussion, which lasted four nights, the leading members of all parties delivered their opinions, which were in many respects contradictory, on the extent as well as on the causes of the evil. The opponents of the motion considered the ultimate views of its supporters as directed to the restoration, or at least to a modification, of our paper currency ; and that to grant it, would be a public announcement that some such measure was intended : most members seemed to think, that, even if errors had been committed, to undo now what had been done, would occasion

more harm than good : if there were any particular measures, it was said, which individuals thought likely to be beneficial, let them be brought forward, and let each be discussed on its own merits : in such a shape, the subject would assume a manageable form ; but by launching forth into an investigation which included every question, the house would only cause fruitless excitement, and awaken hopes that would end in disappointment : the result, therefore, was a complete ministerial triumph, and a signal defeat of those who advocated a paper currency and high prices ; comprehending not only the ultra tories, but several great landed proprietors noted for opposite political sentiments. Lord Althorp, with the leading members of the whig party generally, as well as Mr. Huskisson and his political disciples, sided with the ministry ; and the original motion was abandoned, after an amendment, for a select committee, had been thrown out by the enormous majority of 255 to 87.

After this question was set at rest, the real amount of business transacted in parliament was not very important ; though the present session was distinguished by a length of debate, on many topics, beyond all precedent : the absurd and mischievous practice, which had lately grown up, especially in the lower house, of suffering the least competent members to make long speeches on every trivial occasion, fruitlessly consumed the time that should have been devoted to action ; many important questions were postponed to a period too late for settlement ; the accumulation of business outgrew the powers of ministerial industry or capacity ; and, what was still worse, the character of the house itself began to be deteriorated by the retirement of many respectable members, who were unwilling to sacrifice their own health, and the comfort of their families, to that insane ardor for speaking, which now pervaded the assembly.

Throughout the discussions with which this session commenced, members who opposed the govern-

CHAP.
LXVI.

1830.

ment, as well as most of those who supported it, had insisted on the necessity of reducing taxation, and curtailing the public expenses. Ministers had declared themselves willing to adopt every practicable saving; and any backwardness in that respect was a disposition, in which the whigs could not possibly support them; yet they found themselves under the necessity of resisting various propositions, which were brought forward as measures of proper and salutary retrenchment. The opposition raised against the amount of the army, navy, and ordnance estimates was more than usually loud; the number of men proposed for the land service being 88,164, (after the intended reduction of 7000) and that for the navy 20,000 seamen, with 9000 marines. Mr. Hume and other members, after very animated debates, were defeated in their proposal for a farther reduction by large majorities; but the opposition was less unsuccessful in several attacks on the details of expenditure. On the twelfth of February, Sir James Graham, who had acquired considerable reputation as a speaker, moved for a reduction of the salaries paid to official persons; and the foundation of his motion was, that, subsequently to the Bank restriction act, all had been augmented on the plea of an increase in the expenses of living; therefore, as the restriction had been removed, and we had returned to cash payments, these salaries ought now to be diminished: from this rule he meant indeed to exclude the privy purse and royal establishment, since those stood on arrangements entered into at the beginning of the reign, and ought not to be violated: but the motion was opposed by Mr. Dawson, secretary of the treasury, on the ground, that government had done all that as yet was possible in the way of retrenchment, and still felt a desire to proceed in a spirit of economy for every practical purpose; he therefore met the question by proposing a resolution himself—for a humble address to his majesty, praying that he would be graciously pleased to lay before

the house an account of the progress which had been made in an inquiry into the various departments of the civil government instituted in the year 1821; such being one of those convenient ways that ministers keep in reserve to dispose of questions which they find it difficult or disagreeable to grant; and by this wind they now steered between the Scylla and Charybdis of aristocratic displeasure and general discontent. On the twelfth of March, Sir James, who was rising fast to popularity on independent principles, brought forward a motion for the consolidation of the treasurership of the navy with some other office, and was supported by ninety votes in a house of two hundred and seventy-eight: this encouraged him, on the twentieth of the same month, to propose the abolition of the office of lieutenant-general of the ordnance; when he was defeated by a still less majority of 200 to 124. In fact, the attempts to prove the necessity of either office, as a separate and expensive appointment, were opposed to the common sense of the house, as well as of the country; and the resolution thus manifested of clinging to such places for the mere purposes of party influence, disgusted many independent members, and contributed to alienate their confidence from the existing government. But a still more injurious exposure, accompanied by a signal defeat, had been already effected against ministers by a motion of Sir Robert Heron, on the twenty-sixth of March, to strike out a sum from the navy estimates, which had been granted in pensions to the sons of two cabinet ministers—the honorable Messrs. Dundas and Bathurst—as reduced commissioners, after a service of only four years. ‘It was well known,’ said Sir Robert, who imputed no blame to the young men themselves, ‘that their fathers were noblemen, who, for a great number of years, occupied, with little intermission, some of the most important situations in the government: viscount Melville, at the present moment, presided as first lord of the admiralty; and earl Bathurst was

CHAP.
LXVI.

1830.

lord president of the council, one of the tellers of the exchequer, and joint clerk of the crown: their grandfathers were also men of high consideration; one of them for many years filled the situation of lord high chancellor of England; and the other was a sort of viceroy of Scotland, holding places which produced great emolument, and performing services that were rather equivocal. Now, that these gentlemen, gorged with public money, should require for their families, or even condescend to accept, miserable pensions, and that too in a time of such public distress, did appear to him most paltry: the places given to Mr. Dundas and Mr. Bathurst were offices held during pleasure; and it was therefore in the power of government to dismiss them without pensions: what then must the country think of ministerial professions, when pensions like these were granted, not only without precedent, but without any adequate service performed?' This scandalous job, which served to advance the cause of parliamentary reform in no small degree, was feebly defended by the chancellor of the exchequer and Mr. Peel: but it did not admit of a single real argument in its justification; and, on a division, the grant was disallowed by 139 voices against 121: this ominous defeat was followed by decreasing majorities during the remainder of the session; showing that public confidence was fast deserting those who were so unwilling to redeem their pledges; and who clung so fast to corrupt practices, which the public voice had now learned to denounce.

On the ninth of February, committees were appointed by both houses to take into consideration the charter of the East India company; in proposing which, it was declared, that government was free from all preconceived impressions, and in future proceedings would be guided by the result of this inquiry. A long debate also took place on a motion of Mr. Attwood, proposing to make silver a legal tender, as he maintained it had been before the Bank restriction act of 1797, and to restore the circulation

of small notes : the question underwent a full discussion ; but the notion of a double standard seemed so objectionable, and any scheme for depreciating the currency appeared pregnant with such dangerous consequences, that Mr. Attwood consented to withdraw his motion without dividing the house.

CHAP.
LXVI.

1830.

On the fifteenth of March, the chancellor of the exchequer produced his annual exposition of the finances, which presented no remarkable features, except the repeal of the beer and leather duties, by which ministers desired to show their wish of alleviating the pressure of taxation on the lower classes. This remission of duty on beer, estimated at £3,000,000, was proposed to take place on the tenth of October following ; and the reason given for such delay was, that the repeal should take place conjointly with an opening of the trade, when the time arrived for renewing the licenses of public houses. The measure without doubt proceeded from excellent motives ; but the unfortunate junction alluded to, by encouraging the increase of public houses to an indefinite extent, has introduced immorality and crime into every corner of the land, where they were before almost unknown ; and has probably occasioned more evil than any act passed during the whole period to which these pages refer. The demands of the public service, including the charge of the national debt, remained £47,812,000 ; and the available income being estimated at £50,470,000, a probable balance of about two millions and a half only would be left for the sinking fund. In the revenue of last year, a deficiency of more than half a million below the estimate was acknowledged ; but still a clear surplus of four millions had been applied to the redemption of the debt. To compensate for the loss of revenue from the repeal of beer and leather duties, it was proposed to make a small but salutary addition to those on ardent British spirits ; and also to effect a yearly saving of £778,000, by the conversion of four per cent stock into three and a half : these measures were subsequently carried into effect ; and two

Financial
statements.

CHAP.
LXVI.

1830.
Instances
of parlia-
mentary
corruption.

motions by Mr. Hume and Mr. Poulett Thompson, for a general revision of the whole system of taxation, with a view to its reduction, were defeated.

A crude and unintelligible bill for the reform of parliament, brought forward by the marquis of Blandford, the title of which professed, not to prevent, but to regulate abuses, was negatived without a division; also in the case of East Retford, the proposal for transferring its franchise to Birmingham was ultimately rejected, and the privilege extended to the adjoining hundred. During the debate, Mr. Peel expressly disclaimed the imputations which had been thrown out, that this selection had been made with a view to increase the influence of the duke of Newcastle, whom the intervening catholic bill had now thrown into the ranks of opposition: but the circumstance was suspicious; and though credit was given to the honorable secretary, that the resolution did not proceed on any bargain or understanding with the noble duke; yet there was a large portion of the house and of the country, which could not be brought to believe that a secret partiality for the aristocratic influence in boroughs had not influenced ministers in their determinations: the cause of parliamentary reform therefore advanced another step.

On the third reading of the East Retford bill, a first attempt was made in the British parliament to introduce a principle, new to the representation of this country;—that of taking the votes of electors by ballot, which would protect them from all undue influence, whether of fear or corruption: for this motion, which was made by Mr. O'Connell, only twenty-one voices were raised; but among them, were those of lords Althorp, Nugent, and Ebrington. The idea seems to have originated in certain proceedings of the duke of Newcastle regarding the borough of Newark; where his grace was possessed of large property, partly held under a crown lease; and where he had always been able to control and decide the elections. In a late contest, the usual result took place, and Mr. Sadler, the duke's nominee,

was elected in opposition to serjeant Wylde : in consequence, a petition was presented to the house, stating that the successful candidate's return had been obtained through a prevailing belief, founded on the experience of former elections, that such of his grace's tenants as should vote against his nominee would be expelled from their occupancies ; that many, who gave their votes to the opposing candidate, had, since the election, received notice to quit their holding, whether the same was house or land, and whether it constituted part of the crown estate, or of his grace's private property : it was added, that the duke neither denied that such notices had been given, nor disclaimed them ; but justified his conduct on a claim of right ' to do what he would with his own ; '—a concise and significant sentence, which quickly ran through the land, aiding and accelerating the cause of reform more than the longest speech ever uttered in parliament.

CHAP.
LXVI.

1830.

Mr. Poulett Thompson, in moving that the petition should be referred to a select committee, informed the house, not only that the use thus made of crown property affected the constitutional character of the representation, but that its original investment was a base ministerial job, which had caused a great pecuniary loss to the country. The duke of Newcastle's principal influence at Newark arose from about 960 acres of land surrounding the town ; and these he held by a lease, granted in 1760, at a rent of only thirty-six pounds ! the lease had been renewed in 1815, nine years after its expiration, at a rent of £2060, which fully attested the inadequate payment previously made : but it was still too low ; since the estimated value was £3500, or at least £3000. The pecuniary loss, therefore, was worthy of attention ; but that was a trifle, compared with the political purposes to which the property had been applied : the noble lessee himself never gave a lease for more than one year, in order to keep the voters completely under his power ; and the petition stated the manner in which this power had been employed : if the alle-

CHAP.
LXVI.

1830.

gations were true, the house was bound to interfere ; for though he did not mean to impugn the just and natural influence of a landlord over his tenant, he asked, whether the power arrogated in this case, did not rather resemble the tyranny of a slave-driver, than the proper influence of a British landowner ? There was not, in the present case, any objection arising from interference with the rights of private property : this was a species of property, against the future abuse of which the house might guard, though they could not interfere with the existing lease ; for they could address the crown, praying that it might not be renewed. With a view to have the allegations sifted, he moved that the petition be referred to a select committee. The indignation of Mr. Hobhouse was particularly excited, and his eloquence exerted on this occasion. ‘Suppose,’ said he, ‘the king’s government should send to the duke of Newcastle, and let him know, that, when his lease expired, it should no longer be renewed ; suppose that such an intimation was given to his grace, and it was understood or alleged that his ejection would take place in consequence of a vote given against administration on some great and leading question : if this were done, would it not be denounced as an attack on our dearest privileges ; as an invasion of the most sacred birthright of Englishmen,—the liberty to assert and maintain their opinions ? Compare then the conduct of government in such a case with that of the noble peer : here were these poor men, because they dared to vote against his candidate, banished from their homes, driven from their happy firesides, and deprived of all the comforts of life. Could such conduct, on the part of the noble duke, bear any comparison with the case of government depriving him of these crown lands, for giving a vote against them ?’

Mr. Sadler rose to declare the petition a mere election paper, made up of wanton allegations and unfounded statements ; while he vindicated his patron’s character for humanity and consideration, as

regarded the inhabitants of Newark. Mr. Peel, however, defended at large the principle of the whole transaction, as well as the mode by which the land in question had been acquired: he could see no valid distinction between this property, and that which descended to a man as a freehold from his ancestors. 'The lease,' he said, 'which his grace possessed of this crown land, gave him a right to deal with it as with any other portion of his possessions, during that period; and in dealing with the property of the crown as with his own, it was obvious that he committed no breach of privilege. Now the petitioners intirely confined themselves to the crown possessions held by the noble duke, praying that a lease of them might in future be refused to him: they did not even refer to his other property, with regard to which he had dealt precisely in the same manner: it was plain, therefore, that if, in the management of his own private possessions, he had committed no breach of privilege, he had committed none by dealing in a similar manner with the property of the crown. He would not say that the duke of Newcastle did not dispossess these tenants; but without entering into that question, he would say, that superior to the privileges of that house were other considerations, to which they were bound in duty and conscience to defer—namely, the rights of property: here was no allegation that menaces had been employed; there was only the fact that seven tenants had been dispossessed: now, if they were to control the rights of property, under the idea that those rights had been exercised in controlling an election, a precedent would be set, which might be not merely inconvenient, but positively dangerous; for nothing could be more dangerous than to say, they would not suffer any tenant to be dispossessed, who had voted in opposition to his landlord's wishes. It was in vain that honorable gentlemen exclaimed against the influence which any peer derived from the possession of property: there was no difference between that, and the influence which any other great landed

CHAP.
LXVI.

1830.

proprietor enjoyed ; nor could any species of reform exclude such influence : property, he contended, should always have an influence in that house, no matter whether it was in the hands of peers or commoners.' The motion for referring the petition to a select committee was negatived by a majority of 194 against 61 ; but although the legal right in the present instance could scarcely be denied, the judicious exercise of it was another consideration ; and as the people of England generally entertained an opinion on this point at variance with that of Mr. Peel and his colleagues, there can be no doubt but this transaction rapidly accelerated the march of reform.

Of all the numerous plans for altering our system of representation, whether suggested by an honest desire to obviate the necessity of sweeping innovations, or springing from the designs of restless demagogues, there were none against which so little could be said as the proposition for conferring the elective franchise on populous manufacturing towns. When proposed to be effected, as in the case of Penryn and East Retford, merely by applying to this purpose privileges which became disposable through the gross delinquencies of corrupt boroughs, it assumed its most innocent form ; not adding even to the number of representatives : though lord John Russell therefore failed in his motion for transferring the elective franchise of East Retford to Birmingham, he did not hesitate to bring the subject again before parliament, by moving for a bill to confer that privilege, independently of all other considerations, on Leeds, Birmingham, and Manchester ; and he founded this measure on the known practice of parliament, which extended such rights to unrepresented places, when they had acquired importance by their wealth and population. 'It was true,' he said, 'the proposal hitherto had been, that the franchise should not be conferred till the house had a forfeiture to dispose of ; but it was now plain, that, if the towns in question were to wait for such a transfer, there was no probability that they would ever obtain it ; so numerous

were the difficulties started in both houses of parliament: it also seemed not very reasonable, that the fitness of Leeds or Manchester to be represented should be said to depend on the good or bad conduct of the electors of Penryn or East Retford: their claims must rest on circumstances in their own situation; and if that situation was such as to render it just and desirable that they should be represented, where was the sense of saying, that what was just and reasonable ought not to be done, because the electors of some other place had refused to do what was wicked? His lordship then entered into various details, to show how great had been the increase of the towns in question; declaring, 'that he could see no reason, why so many citizens and so much wealth should remain unrepresented, when the principle, as well as the practice of our constitution, had pointed out the manner of admitting them into parliament. He knew it would be said, that there was no limitation to this principle: he confessed it; and he saw no reason, why, if Sheffield, or any other town, should, at some future period, attain to the same rank, it should not obtain the same privilege; but it was not probable that the principle could ever be applied to more than four or five towns in the whole realm. Parliament had not always been so fastidious in regard to the possible extension of a principle; witness the disfranchisement of the Irish forty shilling freeholders. He did not mean even to augment permanently the numbers of the house; for he should propose, that in future cases of disfranchisement, the privileges should not be transferred. The whole measure seemed to him incapable of alarming the most timid person, and ought to be received joyfully by the determined adversaries of dangerous innovation. In looking at the state of other countries, he felt still more strongly the conviction of its good policy: we could not shut our eyes to the fact, that a collision between royal authority and popular resistance was rapidly approaching in France, though all must regret that some compromise was not con-

CHAP.
LXVI.

1830.

templated to save society from its consequences : it was for us then to profit by the warning, and awaken in time to a perception of the nice mechanism of our own representative government : it behoved those, who, like himself, were lovers of liberty without disorder, and of peace without slavery, to watch anxiously at such a period ; endeavoring so to accommodate our system to altered times and circumstances, as to render it worthy of the respect and affection of the people. The constitution itself supplied us with the means ; we had only to use its own renovating principles : its fabric was not, as many seemed to imagine, that of a Grecian temple, perfect and complete in all its parts, which could not suffer alteration without the destruction of its symmetry ; it was more like a Gothic structure, susceptible of enlargement, consistently with the integrity of its ornaments and the security of its duration.'

The views on which this bill was founded were repeated and enforced by lord Sandon, Mr. Brougham, Dr. Lushington, and Mr. Huskisson ; but although, as the latter gentleman prophetically observed, the time was fast approaching, when ministers would be compelled to come down to the house with some measure, or to resign their situations, and nothing was more unwise than for a government to delay important propositions, till driven forward by overwhelming majorities,—ministerial apathy and prejudice prevailed ; so that the motion was negatived by 188 votes against 140.

Limitations
of capital
punish-
ment.

Owing to the praiseworthy efforts of Mr. Peel, a bill was passed this session for the limitation of capital punishment in cases of forgery : its principle went to remit that penalty, where the complainants, by due caution, could have saved themselves ; and to retain it in other cases, such as forgeries of the great or privy seal, wills, warrants on the public funds, and orders for the payment of money. An amendment, proposed by Sir James Mackintosh, confining the infliction of death to the forgery of a will only, was carried in the commons ; but the bill was altered

again by the lords; and, being brought back to its original principle, ultimately passed both houses. A long discussion took place in the commons, respecting the conduct of the attorney-general, in filing *ex officio* informations against the proprietor of a London newspaper; when the general impression on the house seemed to be, that the prosecutions complained of were harsh and vindictive; and that Sir James Scarlett, notwithstanding his whig education, and a political life spent in opposition, was inclined to be a very dictatorial attorney-general, and was preparing to secede from his former friends and principles: he made one expiring, but futile attempt, to obtain popularity, by a bill to alter the laws of libel, as they existed in what were called the six acts; one of which provided, that a second conviction for any seditious or blasphemous libel might be punished with transportation; and another demanded, that every person who published a newspaper should enter into a recognisance of £300 in London, and £200 in the country, with two sufficient securities, in order to guard against the circulation of such libels; and to ensure a fund, available toward the payment of any penalty awarded against their authors. By the bill now introduced, the punishment of transportation was to be repealed, but the securities raised to £400 in London, and £300 in the country. It was objected, that the repeal proposed was no boon; since it was known from the first that the power granted by the act would never be exercised; while the latter proposition was calculated to impose additional shackles on the press. When the bill therefore was in committee, a majority rejected this clause, on the motion of lord Morpeth; but, on the third reading, Sir James, having brought down, or opportunely found, a more numerous attendance of ministerial members, moved and carried its restoration.

Committees of the house of commons, and the law commissioners, having found much to blame in the

CHAP.
LXVI.

1830,

arrangements for the distribution of justice in Wales, an act passed, this session, abolishing the separate system of Welsh judicature, and annexing it to that of England. By the same bill, the number of puisne judges was increased from twelve to fifteen; a new one being added to each of the courts of king's bench, common pleas, and exchequer: but in Scotland, a different system was pursued; for while the high court of admiralty and the commissary court were abolished, the remaining court of session was diminished, by the subtraction of two from its fifteen lords ordinary, or working judges; on whose ability to get through their work it depends, whether the eight other judges, who sit, four and four, in two courts of review, shall have judgments brought before them.

*Illness of
hismajesty.*

These, and some other objects of minor importance, engaged the attention of parliament, until it was interrupted by the sovereign's demise. His majesty's health had been for a considerable time in a precarious state; but the first bulletin was not issued till the fifteenth of April, when it was announced that he was laboring under a bilious attack, accompanied by an embarrassment in his breathing. The disorder was afterwards ascertained to have been an ossification of the valves of the heart, the symptoms continuing to vary; so that the patient enjoyed temporary intervals of comparative ease, though such an accession of bodily debility ensued, as rendered the slightest exertion painful: in consequence, a message was sent down, on the twenty-fourth of May, to both houses, stating that his majesty found it inconvenient to sign public documents with his own hand, and requesting parliament to provide means for the temporary discharge of that function of the crown, without detriment to the public service. A bill was accordingly passed, allowing the sign manual to be executed with a stamp; such instrument to be used in the presence of the king, by some person authorised by his majesty's word of

mouth ; the same person being also required to sign a declaration to that effect, in the presence of certain high officers of state ; nor was any document to be stamped before its endorsement by three privy counsellors. This arrangement, so important to the public business, caused much discussion, and was the first true indication of the king's real condition to the people, from whom he had of late so intirely secluded himself, that even his death excited less sensation than usually follows the departure of a monarch. About the end of May, a favorable turn of the disorder gave rise to hope, and the king attended to public business ; being visited by his family and official servants : but this feeling was soon changed into despair ; for the chest became affected, the lungs completely decayed, blood was mingled with the expectoration, and general debility rapidly ensued.

Some short time before the final catastrophe, the physicians delicately and candidly intimated to his majesty, that all farther endeavors to avert the stroke of death would be unavailing ; when he calmly answered, ' God's will be done ! ' and subsequently received the sacrament from the hands of the bishop of Chichester. Soon after, his voice became faint and low ; for several days his words were scarcely articulated ; his sleep was broken and disturbed ; and he was constantly in need of assistance. Thus lay George IV. in the magnificent palace of the kings of England, surrounded by luxuries and splendor unknown to any of his predecessors, when the angel of death approached, on the night of Friday, the twenty-fifth of June. He had slept little during the evening, and from eleven to three was in a restless slumber, opening his eyes occasionally when the cough made him suffer more than usual pain : nothing, however, occurred till three o'clock which indicated any particular change, when the king beckoned to the page in waiting to alter his position : he was immediately obeyed ; the couch, constructed for the purpose, was gently raised, and the sufferer lifted to his

CHAP.
LXVI.

1830.
Death of
George IV.

chair: but at that moment a blood vessel burst: the effect was apparent to his attendants, who hastened to apply the usual stimulants, and to call in the physicians; when the royal patient himself perceived that his dissolution was at hand, and exclaimed,—‘O God, I am dying!’ A few seconds afterwards, in a whisper scarcely audible, he added —‘This is death!’—and when the medical men entered the apartment, George IV. had ceased to breathe.

His cha-
racter.

The demise of this monarch is too recent to admit of an impartial delineation of his character consistently with propriety; but while we acknowledge his imperfections as a man, let us not forget the powerful temptations to which he was peculiarly exposed; and if we see any thing to blame in his conduct as a prince, let us at least confess that he betrayed no desire unduly to extend the prerogative, or to curtail the just rights of his subjects. As regent, his name will ever be associated with the most splendid triumphs that adorn our annals; while his reign was illustrated by the brilliant progress of intellect, and by a general improvement in the liberal arts, of which he was a munificent patron.

Accession
of William
IV.

As soon as the king's decease was known, his next brother, William Henry, duke of Clarence, was proclaimed by the title of William IV.; nor did the new monarch fail to acquire great popularity, by the simplicity of his habits and manners, as well as by the condescending familiarity of his intercourse with the people;—qualities, which lost none of their attraction by a comparison with the secluded life of his predecessor. No immediate alteration took place in the government; for his majesty, after the usual oaths for the security of the church of Scotland, having signed such instruments as are requisite at the commencement of a new reign, re-appointed the judges and other great officers of state to the places which had become vacant, and signified to the members of the cabinet that he was anxious to retain their services: a revolution, however, had taken place in the feelings of

their most important political supporters, which, added to the national distress, and the disturbed state of public sentiment, soon occasioned, not only their retirement from office, but the greatest organic change in the British constitution that has taken place since the revolution of 1688.

CHAP.
LXVI.

1830.

CHAPTER LXVII.

WILLIAM IV.—1830.

Sentiments of the whigs—King proclaimed, and parliament opened—Addresses—Symptoms of disagreement between the whigs and ministers—Opposition of the tories—Explanations on both sides, and declaration of hostilities—First court of William IV. ; his declaration to the prelates, reception of addresses, &c.—Prorogation and dissolution of the parliament—Measures taken by the whigs to pave their way to office—Revolutions in France and the Netherlands—Causes which rendered the elections in England unfavorable to ministers—Meeting of the new parliament—King's speech, addresses, &c.—Duke of Wellington's denunciations against reform—Other causes of popular dissatisfaction with the government ; case of Belgium ; postponement of the king's visit to Guildhall—Notice taken of it in parliament—Defeat of ministers, and resignation—State of parties—Formation of earl Grey's administration—Mr. Stanley's defeat at Preston—Regency bill passed—Parliament adjourns—Opening of the Liverpool and Manchester railway, and death of Mr. Huskisson—State of foreign nations—State of public mind regarding parliamentary reform—Introduction and progress of the reform bill through the house of commons—Dissolution of parliament—New parliament assembled—Progress of the bill continued—Budget, &c.—Advance of the bill through the house of commons—Bill read a first time in the upper house—Opening of London Bridge—King's assent to the queen's dower-bill—Grant to the duchess of Kent—Coronation—Progress of the reform bill in the lords—Rejection of it—Prorogation of parliament—State of the country—Appearance of cholera in the north—Foreign affairs—Parliament assembles—Re-introduction of the reform bill—Its progress to its final settlement.

Sentiments
of the
whigs.

THE whigs, already uneasy, because the session had passed away, and no approach had been made by ministers to a closer and more profitable union,

now saw a new reign commencing, and a new parliament about to be chosen, without any invitation given, or hope held out to them: indeed, it became evident that government was prepared to stand the chance of a general election without their assistance, being anxious to place itself in such a position as to be independent of their support: the time therefore had now arrived, when it became necessary to try their strength, if they hoped ever again to participate in the sweets of office. The ceremony of proclaiming the new king having taken place on the twenty-eighth, his majesty, next day, sent down his first message to parliament; when an address, in answer to that part of the message which related to the death of the late monarch, was immediately moved by the duke of Wellington in the upper, and by Sir Robert Peel in the lower house, seconded respectively by lord Grey and Mr. Brougham; who recorded, in terms of most affectionate gratitude, the exertions, by which his late majesty had, under circumstances of unexampled difficulty, maintained the external reputation and internal prosperity of these realms.

Proceed-
ings in par-
liament.

On the following day, however, motions were made for a second address, in answer to that part of the message which recommended a dissolution of parliament, as soon as means had been provided for carrying on the public service: the whigs then raised an opposition, under the plea that it was right to take into consideration the possible contingency of a demise of the crown; in which case, as the presumptive heir was a minor, it might be necessary to appoint a regency during the non-existence of parliament, unless it were determined to leave the country without a government: the only inconvenience that could occur, was that of their sitting a month longer; and why should they not sit, when so imperative a duty required it? The reasoning was plausible; but ministers answered, that the very importance of this question, and the difficulties which would undoubtedly rise in the course of it, as well as the caution

CHAP.
LXVII.

1830.

which ought to be observed, were the strongest possible reasons for not hurrying it through parliament at the end of a session, when the members of one house would be thinking more about the next elections than present business: besides, there was no pressing necessity, no prospect of danger from the king's health; on the contrary, lord Grey himself had affirmed, that his majesty's strong constitution and temperate habits gave promise of a long reign. While the inconvenience then was positive and present, the danger was but imaginary and remote: it was in vain to say, that the object was to gain twenty-four hours' time for deliberation: yet even if that really were the case, the country would not so consider it: 'if the motion be agreed to,' said the duke of Wellington, 'it will be viewed as a complete defeat of ministers.'

His grace, who fully comprehended the views of the discontented party, found, in the ensuing discussion, that this was not the only opposition he had to expect: lords Harrowby, Winchelsea, and Eldon, the duke of Richmond, the marquis of Londonderry, earl Mansfield, and lord Wharncliffe, one after another, stated their determination to vote for the amendment; nay, even lord Goderich himself expressed similar sentiments. Ministers and their friends railed against what they called 'an unnatural coalition between parties most opposite to each other in principle;' while lord Ellenborough called on earl Grey, to remember the confidence which he had expressed in the present ministers, and the large debt of gratitude he had acknowledged as due to them, for 'the great measure of last session:' an unfortunate topic; since every allusion to it, by way of conciliating the whigs, called up afresh to the minds of the more influential Tories those motives which had arrayed them against the government. 'Any attempt,' said his lordship, 'to overturn the administration, came with a peculiarly bad grace from that noble earl and his adherents.'—'I rejoice, however,' he continued, 'that we know, at last, who are our real opponents, and who our

friends ; even though I see, most unexpectedly, the noble earl in the array against us.’

CHAP.
LXVII.

1830.

Lord Mansfield, while he repudiated the idea of coalition, declared, that the peculiar circumstances of last year ; the deep interest which, in common with other peers, he took in the measure then carried ; and the indignation which he felt, in common with them, on account of that measure,—had, during the present session, fastened the bonds which united him by a political feeling with many noble lords : they might have acted together, and there might have been a coincidence of opinion among some who formerly did not agree on many subjects ; but there was no coalition : that which united them was a want of confidence in his majesty’s government ; a determination not to support his ministers ; and a desire to bring forward such measures as might benefit the public : ‘the present government,’ said the duke of Richmond, ‘is a government of mere expediency, full of vacillating proposals, never daring to propose and support measures on their own proper grounds.’

Earl Grey, in reply to the complaints of lord Ellenborough, assured the house, ‘that he had never felt or expressed confidence in the present administration : it had done well in carrying the catholic bill ; it had received all his political and personal support ; and that support, he could not but feel, was of some benefit to the cause : but he claimed no gratitude for what he had done ; and, on the other hand, he owed none. As to general confidence in the present cabinet, it was an idea which had never entered into his mind : his public declarations must be known to many of their lordships ; and he was certain that in private he had often made the same statement : he had repeatedly expressed his opinion of the incapacity and vacillating policy of ministers : how then could he have confidence in them or their measures ?’ On a division, ministers had a majority of 100 against 56 ; but the debate itself was a declaration of war ; and

CHAP.
LXVII.

1839.

it became evident, that their scheme of government, by balancing and trimming measures, so as to secure the aid of one section which trusted them not, against another, was now at an end.

In the lower house, the number of speakers was smaller, but the language was still more bitter; and Sir Robert Peel had the mortification of receiving a lecture on the subject of consistency from Mr. Huskisson, and of being classed by Mr. Brougham among 'the flatterers and fawning parasites of the duke of Wellington.' Ministers carried the address by a majority of only forty-six; the votes for lord Althorp's amendment being 139, and against it 185.

On Saturday, July the third, the king held his first court at St. James's, when a large number of public functionaries, foreign ministers, and nobility attended to pay their respects to the new sovereign: next day, being Sunday, he attended divine service at the Chapel Royal, and received the sacrament; at the conclusion of which ceremony, his majesty received the archbishops and bishops in the royal closet, where he professed to them his unalterable attachment to the protestant religion, and his determined resolution to support the established church of England: after this, he met the judges in the great council chamber, and graciously complimented them on their upright administration of law and justice.

The funeral of the late king took place on the fifteenth of July at Windsor: on the sixteenth, his majesty went over the whole establishment of the castle; and after accosting the domestics with great affability, gave orders for its future management: on the same day, the dean and chapter of Windsor attended with an address of condolence and congratulation; and early next morning, the king set off for St. James's palace, to receive the address of the city of London. Many successive days were occupied by his majesty in reviewing the different regiments of guards, receiving loyal addresses, and conferring honors on several deserving individuals;

while his activity astonished all who were not acquainted with his previous habits: nor did the condescension of the king and his royal consort towards every class of their subjects, together with numerous instances of their kind feeling and prompt liberality, fail to excite that spirit of loyalty, which, though it may for a time lie dormant, never ceases to dwell in British hearts, the best safeguard of the throne and constitution. On Friday, the twenty-third of July, his majesty went in state to the house of lords, where the commons, with their speaker, were assembled; and after a most gracious speech, he prorogued parliament, which was next day dissolved by proclamation; writs being ordered for the election of a new one, returnable on the fourteenth of September.

CHAP.
LXVII.

1830.

The progress of the session just closed had broken up the alliance which enabled ministers to maintain themselves in office; and as this alliance, whilst it lasted, served to widen the breach between them and their ancient friends, they were destined in the ensuing elections to meet with a fierce and combined opposition. The duke of Wellington's administration could not be consistently accused by the whigs either of illiberality or extravagance; indeed, it had received their approbation as an honest, well-meaning government, until they discovered, toward the end of the session, that its good intentions did not go so far as to call them to share in the distribution of public offices: nor was it unnatural that they should feel resentment at this neglect; for so long a period had elapsed since they were debarred from office, that public sentiment began to take a turn in their favor throughout the country: nay, there were found some, even among their opponents, who thought it fair that they should have a trial; being averse to see one of the great parties in the state condemned to political annihilation. Taking advantage of these feelings, and of the divisions already alluded to, the whigs very adroitly paved the way to a resumption of power. While the ministry was vehemently attacked on the score of incapacity, its

State of
parties.

CHAP.
LXVII.

1830.

leader was characterised as a domineering soldier, unfitted to conduct alone the government of the nation, yet determined to surround himself with men of mean capacity and dependent spirit, who would act as the unreflecting instruments of his will. 'The duke of Wellington,' they asserted, 'illustrious as his services have been, must not suppose that the people of England will submit to him as their ruler, if the only condition on which he will consent to trample on them, is the retention of such colleagues as lord Aberdeen to manage our relations with the Polignacs and Metternichs, lord Ellenborough to dispose of India, and lord Lyndhurst to show how much worse the court of chancery can be conducted than by lord Eldon: his grace might be a useful and popular member of any government; but he must be content to employ significant figures, and not, by a vain effort of giving value to a row of ciphers, expose himself to the derision of the nation. The notion of the duke of Wellington, it was said, being able to govern the country as sole minister, arose from the disunion of some parties, now no more; the want of decision in some individuals, now little regarded; the aversion to office in others, now likely to be overcome; but above all, from what was held necessary in the late king's time—a firm man to control him. A sovereign, who had no childish fancies to gratify; who did not one day want to get rid of his wife at the risk of a civil war, another day to build palaces at the cost of a million; who had no minions to influence him, and no personal spites to gratify;—would never have required an unyielding minister to keep him in order; and the necessity of his grace, as premier, would never have been felt. With the duke's political failures abroad, and the deplorable state of his parliamentary campaign at home, much of this supposed necessity, even during the late king's life, had disappeared; but the demise of the crown had put an end to the whole delusion, and restored to the country the chance of a respectable administration;

presenting, as it did, to the duke of Wellington, the fair choice of ceasing to govern at all, or of being content to govern with colleagues fit for the service of the state.'⁹ Such were the sentiments studiously put forth by pamphleteers; and though the offended tories did not deliberately act in union with the whigs, yet their influence took the same direction, to eject a ministry, by which they considered themselves deceived and betrayed.

CHAP.
LXVII.

1830.

The spirit of opposition, thus excited, suddenly gained a great addition of strength by events, of which the continent became the scene. Scarcely had parliament been dissolved, when the French government was overturned by a revolution as unexpected, as were the measures which directly led to it. Ministers, finding that the new elections only increased the number of their opponents in the legislative body, suddenly broke through the fences of the constitution, with a determination to establish a species of Prussian government, in which the material interests of the people should dominate over those that are intellectual and political: by a mere royal ordinance, they abolished the liberty of the press, cancelled the existing system of representation, and fashioned for the kingdom a new system of election, which would produce a chamber of deputies more obedient to the royal will. Paris rose in arms against these unconstitutional decrees, and armed troops were opposed to an armed rabble. Misconduct, and want of faith in the former, left victory in the hands of the latter: the troops of the line refused to act; the guards, after two days of fruitless resistance in the streets, were forced to retire from the capital; and those members of the chamber of deputies, who were then in Paris, assumed the government. Amid the acclamations of a triumphant populace, they cut off, by their own decree, one third part of the chamber of peers; they excluded Charles X. and all his

Revolution
in France.

⁹ See Annual Register for 1830, p. 143.

CHAP.
LXVII.

1830.

Revolution
in Belgium.

descendants from the throne ; they made a present of the French crown to the duke of Orleans ; and sent the royal line of Bourbons once more to seek an asylum in a foreign land. The rapidity of these events, and the complete triumph of the insurgents over the resources of an established government, infected all quarters of Europe. In a short time, the inhabitants of Brussels were in open insurrection against local taxes : having met with success, they extended their views to the overthrow of their government, and a separation of the Netherlands from Holland : they repulsed the king's troops in an attack on Brussels ; established a provisional government ; convoked a national congress ; declared Belgium an independent state ; excluded the house of Orange from the throne, and set themselves about the election of a new king. All over Europe, the notion seemed to be, that a populace had only to rise, in order to make armies and governments vanish before it. In Britain, these events were hailed by the whigs with applause, as the dawning of a new and glorious day in the history of man : public meetings were held, to pass resolutions, commending the spirit with which the Parisians had shaken off encroaching despotism ; deputations were sent to congratulate them on their triumph ; and subscriptions proposed, to relieve the families of those who had suffered in the contest : the people were specially called on to remark, how little they had to fear from military power, since the citizens of Paris and Brussels had been able to set it at defiance ; and how clearly they were intitled to be heard in the government, since it was so much in their power to make the government what they chose. The French ministry, besides, had contrived to put itself completely in the wrong : no moderate man could justify the despotic acts by which it had destroyed the constitution of the country, or blame the resistance which those acts had called forth : resistance too had been confined to its immediate object much more suc-

cessfully than could have been expected, where an armed populace possessed all the power; for except during the actual fighting in the streets of Paris, no blood had been shed; no property had been violated: the head of the government indeed had been changed, but its monarchical form had been preserved, though with a new intermixture of popular elements.

CHAP.
LXVII.

1830.

The excitement produced by these events had an effect on our elections very unfavorable to ministers; nor did it fail to bring forward the question of parliamentary reform in a much more prominent and remarkable shape than it had yet assumed: the force of example now added itself to all other existing motives for change; and the notion of transferring the privileges of a corrupt borough to an unrepresented place, or giving the elective franchise to a populous town, was utterly discarded: in the present state of public feeling, there was no difficulty in getting up meetings, petitions, and addresses, advocating extensive alterations in our representative system; all of which, however vague and indeterminate in their respective conditions, tended to confer the elective rights on a much larger proportion of the people than had hitherto enjoyed them; nor were threats spared, that a refusal of these rights would lead to a general convulsion, in which the privileged orders might possibly be forced to yield much more than was now required. The alarm occasioned by such demands, and their accompanying menaces, was inexpressibly augmented by disturbances, which, beginning in the county of Kent, spread themselves rapidly over the whole face of the country: the rioters did not at first assume the character of disorderly mobs, but appeared as lurking incendiaries, wreaking their vengeance on property, the destruction of which could only aggravate the causes of distress: night after night they lighted up conflagrations, by which an incredible quantity of grain, and even of live stock, was consumed: bands, still more daring, attacked machinery of all kinds, particularly thrashing ma-

Popular
discon-
tents.

CHAP.
LXVII.

1830.

chines, the use of which became so unpopular, that after a short time insurance offices refused a policy to those who kept them on their premises. The first offenders that were seized, being tried before county magistrates, met with that lenity which commiseration for their starving condition excited; but the evil spread in consequence so extensively, that all protection for property seemed to be at an end: bands of rioters pillaged and destroyed it during the day; and when night fell, simultaneous conflagrations, blazing up in different quarters, spread havoc and dismay far and wide over the land: at length, the military force in the most disturbed districts was increased; a reward of £500 was offered for the conviction of an incendiary; and a special commission was ordered to proceed into those counties where the outrages were committed: it may be remarked, however, that they were speedily and effectually suppressed in some places, where the yeomanry and farmers, mounting their horses and scouring the country, aided the civil officers in the discovery and apprehension of offenders.

Opening of
new parliament.

Under such gloomy circumstances, the new parliament met on the twenty-sixth of October, and found parties in the same state as at the dissolution; with this difference only, that every element of opposition against the administration had acquired new vigor by the course of events, while new topics had sprung up, on which it would be forced to make a trial of strength: it appeared certain, that the question of reform would speedily be brought forward; and ministers may perhaps have flattered themselves, that its discussion would effect a reconciliation between them and their former adherents. On the second of November, after the several members of both houses had been sworn in, and Mr. Mannors Sutton unanimously re-elected speaker of the commons, the session was opened, with great splendor, by the king in person. His majesty, in his speech, alluded to the events of deep interest and importance which had occurred on the continent; to the con-

tinuance of his diplomatic relations with the new French dynasty; to the endeavors which, in concert with his allies, he was making to restore tranquillity in the Netherlands; to the maintenance of those general treaties, by which the political system of Europe had been established; and to the hope of renewing his diplomatic relations with Portugal, because the government of that country had determined to perform a great act of justice and humanity, by the grant of a general amnesty! In addressing the house of commons, he observed, that the estimates for the ensuing year would be prepared with that strict regard to economy, which he was determined to enforce in every branch of the public expenditure; and as, by the demise of the late king, the civil list had expired, his majesty placed, without reserve, at their disposal, his interest in the hereditary revenues, and in those funds which might be derived from the droits of the admiralty, from the West India duties, or any casual source; rejoicing in the opportunity of thus evincing his intire reliance on their dutiful attachment; and his confidence that they would cheerfully provide for the support of government, and the dignity of the crown: after lamenting the disturbances which afflicted the country, and expressing a determination to employ all the means which the laws and constitution had placed in his hands to repress them, his majesty consoled himself with reflecting on the loyalty and affectionate attachment of the great body of his people; declaring, that it was the great object of his life to preserve to them those blessings which they had so long enjoyed, and transmit them unimpaired to posterity.

CHAP.
LXVII.

1830.

The usual addresses were carried in both houses, though not without evident signs of vigorous opposition to ministers on the subjects of reform and retrenchment. In regard to the latter object, every assurance was given by government, that reduction of expenditure and taxation should be carried as far as propriety and practicability would permit: on

CHAP.
LXVII.

1830.

the other point, however, the duke of Wellington went beyond his usual prudence and reserve, in the peculiar state of public feeling : for at a time, when the people of England, bending beneath burdens almost intolerable, were recalling to mind the profligacy of statesmen, the subserviency of parliaments, and the corruption of institutions, recorded in our annals from the revolution up to the present time, and were ascribing these evils to the imperfect state of our representation, which had converted stocks and stones into constituencies, though populous towns remained unrepresented, and had enabled the proprietors of boroughs to make their own terms with ministers ;—while such sentiments were at their height, his grace uttered his memorable denunciation against reform ; and his doom, as minister of this country, was irrevocably fixed. In replying to earl Grey, who had alluded to the subject, and candidly confessed that he had no definite plan to produce ; the premier observed,—‘ that, on his part, he would go farther, and say, that he had never read or heard of any measure, up to the present moment, which could improve the representation, or render it more satisfactory to the country at large : he would not hesitate unequivocally to declare his opinion, that we possessed a legislature, which answered all good purposes, better than any which had been ever tried ; and that if he had to frame a legislature for another country, his aim would be to form one which would produce similar results : under such circumstances, he was not only unprepared to bring forward any measure of reform, but ready at once to declare, that so long as he held a station in the government, he should feel it his duty to resist any such measures when proposed by others.’

In the house of commons, Mr. Brougham did not wait even till the address was moved, before he gave notice, that on the sixteenth, he would submit a distinct proposition for a change in the representation, intending to take his stand on the ancient ground of the constitution, as it existed originally, in the days

of its purity and vigor. Sir Robert Peel, though he did not speak in the same fearless and uncompromising tone as his chief, yet professed that he saw difficulties about the question, which he was by no means prepared to encounter: he wished nevertheless to say nothing then which might at all prejudice discussion hereafter, or interfere with its advance towards a satisfactory termination. These declarations were sufficient to spread widely the flame of discontent, which had been already kindled against government; and the consequences appeared, both in and out of parliament, in formidable combinations to embarrass ministers, and thwart their measures. No little indignation was excited against them by the manner in which the king had been led, in his speech, to mention the revolution in Belgium; as 'a revolt against an enlightened government;' and to express his determination to maintain in regard to it those general treaties, by which the political system of Europe was said to be fixed. 'All this,' lord Grey observed, 'sounded like threatened interference; and he could not conceive why we should be bound by treaties to interfere between Holland and the Low Countries: neither had we a right to express an opinion on the conduct of the Belgians; to praise the government which they had cast off, and stigmatise them as revolted subjects.' Few countries, in fact, had been treated, at the new partition of Europe after the war, worse than Belgium; which had been joined to Holland for the convenience of others, who wished to raise a bulwark against the power of France. The junction was not attended with mutual affection, congeniality of habits, or even with a similarity of religion; and the Belgians considered themselves an oppressed people; not only because they had been forced into a connexion which they never would have sought, but because they found its terms and conditions unequal; they complained, that the king, a Dutchman, and stadtholder of Holland, long before he was sovereign of the Netherlands, sacrificed his acquired to his

CHAP.
LXVII.

1830.

hereditary dominions ; that to Dutchmen was given a monopoly of the general administration ; that even from Belgian offices Belgians were excluded ; that they were taxed for Dutch debts, and for objects exclusively Dutch ; that their religion, and the institutions for education connected with it, were discouraged ; that their very language had been banished from their own law courts, and their country treated altogether like a conquered province. These accusations, though untrue to the extent represented by democratic journals and catholic priests, were not wholly without foundation ; and the part known to have been taken by the duke of Wellington in cementing this ill-assorted union, together with his inclination toward continental despots, disposed people to suspect him of a design to interfere, on the present occasion, in a manner adverse to the Belgians ; so that, confessedly, at this period, the popularity of the hero of Waterloo, and of his cabinet, had considerably declined ; when a domestic circumstance occurred, which tended in no small degree to increase their embarrassment.

Unpopu-
larity of
ministers.

The king and queen had promised, some time before the meeting of parliament, to honor the lord mayor's feast at Guildhall with their presence ; and great were the preparations made by the citizens on the approach of that civic festival : but while all were at the height of expectation, they were suddenly mortified by intelligence, that their chief magistrate had received a letter from Sir Robert Peel, late on the evening of the seventh of November, stating, that the king, following the advice of ministers, had resolved to put off his visit to a future opportunity : the reason given for this determination was, that information, recently received, 'gave cause for apprehension, lest, notwithstanding the devoted loyalty and attachment borne to the sovereign by the citizens of London, advantage might be taken of the nocturnal assemblage of multitudes, to create tumult and confusion ; and it would be a source of deep and lasting concern to their majesties, if any calamity were to occur on the occasion of their visit

to the city.' This announcement filled the metropolis with doubt and alarm; especially, as a disposition to mischief had been lately shown by the populace, directed principally against the duke of Wellington and the new police: indeed, indications of hostile feeling had been so repeated and so strong, and inflammatory handbills had been so industriously circulated, that two members of the common council acknowledged they had warned his grace of the danger; and alderman Key, lord mayor elect, had apprised him of an attack intended to be made on his person. These circumstances induced the duke and his colleagues to decline the dinner; and as their absence would have been liable to a misconstruction little less serious than the danger to be apprehended from their presence, it was judged prudent to advise his majesty to relinquish his intention, in order to prevent tumult and bloodshed. As soon as this determination became known, consternation pervaded all ranks; men believed that some atrocious conspiracy against the royal person had been discovered, or even that a revolution was at hand; so that the public funds fell nearly three per cent, and mercantile confidence was generally interrupted: the entertainment at Guildhall was deferred; and, instead of civic festivities, the city was disturbed with the rumbling of artillery, and the march of soldiers: the Tower ditch was filled with water, and other precautions taken, to put that fortress into a state of security; extra guards were placed at the Bank, and at the magazine in Hyde Park; while large bodies of troops were billeted in the neighborhood of the metropolis: scarcely however had two days elapsed, when people were laughing at the trepidation into which they had been betrayed; confidence was restored; and the funds rose as rapidly as they had fallen.

Meanwhile severe animadversions were passed in parliament on the conduct of ministers, for preventing his majesty's visit to the city; and the duke of Richmond, who began a discussion on this sub-

CHAP.
LXVII.

1830.

ject in the upper house, declared, 'that the king reigned in the hearts of his people; and that he might have gone safely, unaccompanied by guards, through every street of the metropolis;'—an allegation, to which the duke of Wellington readily assented, as did Sir Robert Peel in the other house: but they contended, that, although the royal personage might have been safe, his presence would have brought together a large and lawless multitude, bent on riot and outrage; when the military must have been called in for the suppression of tumult. Mr. Brougham took this occasion to contrast severely the popularity of the king with the hostility exhibited toward the premier: in regard to the latter, he observed;—'I regret much its appearance; I regret it on account of the mischief which it is calculated to do in the mercantile world; I regret it also on account of its apparent connexion with that speech from the throne, which has been followed up by a still more fatal declaration against every species of reform;—a declaration, to which, in my conscience, I believe the noble duke owes nine-tenths of his present unpopularity. I wish I had not lived to see the day, when the brilliant and imperishable renown of his grace, as a general and a conqueror, was coupled with a deviation from his proper sphere into the labyrinth of politics, and an attempt to shine as a great statesman: I wish I had not lived to see the day, when the forgetfulness of the people to the merits of the soldier, and the forgetfulness of the soldier to his own sphere of greatness, showed to Europe and to the world, that he cannot accompany his majesty on a journey into the hearts of an attached and loyal population.'

It was now obvious that the duke's administration, which no longer moved in harmony with the predominating spirit of the nation, had received a shock which would prevent its long duration. On Monday, the fifteenth of November, when the chancellor of the exchequer stated to the house his arrangements for the civil list, which, in consequence of a previous

estimate, he proposed to raise to the annual sum of £970,000, Sir Henry Parnell moved, 'that a select committee be appointed to inquire into its various items, and to make their report.' The debate was brief: Messrs. Calcraft and Herries, both members of government, declared that it was an unusual thing to submit the civil list to a committee, and that retrenchment and simplification had been carried as far as was practicable or prudent: but the motion was supported by Mr. Bankes, lord Althorp, Mr. Wynne, and Mr. Holme Sumner; three of which number, in other times, would hardly have lent their votes to unseat a tory administration; and, on a division, ministers were defeated by a majority of 233 against 204. Thus terminated the political ascendancy of the duke of Wellington: next day, his grace in the house of peers, and Sir Robert Peel in the commons, announced, that in consequence of the preceding decision, they had tendered to his majesty their resignations, and continued to hold office only until successors should be appointed: it was afterwards declared, that they came to this resolution, not so much on account of the vote on the civil list, as from anticipation of the result of a division on Mr. Brougham's proposition for parliamentary reform, which stood for the very day on which this announcement was made: but even if the civil list question had not been deemed important enough to justify a resignation, the majority that decided it showed a settled and stern system of opposition, which must have convinced ministers that their reign was over. Mr. Brougham, at the request of his associates, postponed his motion for reform till the twenty-fifth of November, professing to do so with great reluctance; since he appeared to reckon on remaining in his present position, and expressly affirmed, that 'he could not possibly be affected by any change in administration:' accordingly, he pledged himself to bring forward his motion on the day appointed, 'whoever might be his majesty's ministers:' next day, he repeated the same declaration, on a

CHAP.
LXVII.

1830.

Dissolution
of the Wel-
lington ad-
ministra-
tion.

CHAP.
LXVII.

1830.

motion made by Sir M. W. Ridley, to postpone the consideration of election petitions till after Christmas; expressing his astonishment at the reasons assigned for it by the honorable member—that ministers would not be present. ‘The house,’ he observed, ‘could do many things without their assistance; and with every feeling of respect for the future ministers, generally speaking, he could have nothing to do with their administration.’ The motion was negatived; and two days afterwards, Mr. Brougham was gazetted as lord high chancellor of Great Britain, with a peerage.

Formation
of earl
Grey's ad-
ministra-
tion.

The tories, though they had lent their votes to displace the ministry, had formed no plan, and taken no steps, to ensure to themselves any share in the succession: accordingly, earl Grey, being appointed first lord of the treasury, was commissioned to fill up the ranks of government; which duty he undertook, on the express permission of his majesty, that parliamentary reform should be brought forward as a cabinet measure. In the course of a week, the new ministry was formed, not consisting solely of whigs; but containing an admixture of those who had been adherents of Messrs. Canning and Huskisson, and who had formerly held office with the leading members of the displaced administration: the only difficulty lay with Mr. Brougham, who had so recently declared that no change could possibly affect him; by which he evidently meant, no change that did not offer to his acceptance a station sufficiently high: the minister was afraid to leave him neglected or discontented in the lower house, and the honorable gentleman was resolved not to sacrifice his interest there for any subordinate office; so that at length the highest judicial dignity in the empire was wrested out of the minister's hands by a skilful politician, of splendid talents indeed, but notoriously deficient in those particular qualifications which his official duties required. Few were found to pity the fate of Sir James Scarlett, neglected now by the party whom he had so lately deserted; though many thought, the

Irish chancellor, Sir Antony Hart, who had stood impartially between contending parties, harshly treated in being made to resign for lord Plunkett: the new premier, however, considered it necessary to have an Irish chancellor whom he could fully trust and employ in Irish politics. The duke of Richmond, the only leading member of the old tory party who entered the new cabinet, became postmaster-general: lord Althorp was appointed to lead the house of commons as chancellor of the exchequer; while the offices of home, foreign, and colonial secretaries, were given respectively to lords Melbourne, Palmerston, and Goderich: Sir James Graham was made first lord of the admiralty; lord Lansdowne, president of the council; and lord Durham, privy seal; Messrs. Denman and Horne, attorney and solicitor-general; lord Hill, commander in chief; lord Auckland, president of the board of trade, and Mr. C. Grant, of the board of control; lord Holland, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster; the duke of Devonshire, lord chamberlain; the honorable Agar Ellis, chief commissioner of the woods and forests; Mr. R. Grant, judge advocate; lord John Russell, paymaster of the forces; Mr. Poulett Thompson, vice president of the board of trade, and treasurer of the navy; Sir Edward Paget and Sir Robert Spencer, master and surveyor-general of the board of ordnance; Mr. C. W. Wynne, secretary at war; while Mr. Edward Ellice and Mr. Spring Rice were appointed joint secretaries of the treasury. The only offices in Scotland liable to change, being those of the lord advocate and solicitor-general, were given, the first to Mr. Jeffery, the latter to Mr. Cockburn;—long-tried friends and literary coadjutors of the new lord chancellor. Ireland received, as its chief governor, the marquis of Anglesea; with Mr. Stanley, as secretary; lord Plunkett, chancellor; and Mr. Pennefather, attorney-general.

The elevation of this ministry, the expectations it excited, as well as the peculiar difficulties and dangers by which it was threatened, were so well

CHAP.
LXVII.

1830.

stated, at the time, by one of our leading journals,¹⁰ that no apology can be requisite for introducing a few of its remarks into these pages. 'The exigency to which the new ministry owe their admission to power,' says the writer, 'is not one produced by court intrigue, or by mere party triumph: it is founded on that opinion, which caused the overthrow of a government hostile to reform; not zealous enough for retrenchment; and supposed to be, though perhaps unjustly, not quite impartial between the interests of freedom and prerogative, in the concerns of foreign nations. As by the tide of opinion, then, they floated into office, on it they must continue to buoy themselves, or they will inevitably perish.'— 'The composition of the Grey ministry is possibly as good as the present state of parties will admit of; confining the selection to public men who are likely to agree on most political questions, and especially on the enforcement of those great principles, which constitute the rallying points for all reflecting and disinterested minds, in the actual crisis of the world.'— 'Wants which have more than once betrayed themselves among men of considerable ability as public speakers, may, we hope, not be chargeable on the infant government; we mean those of sagacity in council, promptitude in action, with steadiness and diligence in the conduct of daily, though subordinate, matters of administration. It is perhaps on the last of these points, even if apparently least momentous, that the most serious apprehensions might with some reason be entertained. The tories have, for almost half a century, filled all offices under government; so that among many monopolies, from which the public interests have suffered, by no means the least injurious has been a monopoly of official experience, tact, and readiness, by a single party in the state, to the exclusion of a fair share to any and every other: nor is the operation of such a circumstance on the course of public business, under a whig administra-

¹⁰ The Times of 22d of November, 1830.

CHAP.
LXVII.

1830.

tion, confined to the mere slowness or imperfection with which the machine of state, through the inexperience of its conductors, moves on : besides inexperience in the whig who supersedes the tory subaltern, there may be, from many years of close connexion with tory patrons, something not far short of treachery in the tory underling, who, from generosity or indifference, is left in place, and trusted, when he ought in prudence to be superseded.' After describing other members of the cabinet, the journalist thus proceeds :—' We may just observe, that lord Grey and lord Brougham are both known to the country more as opposition leaders than as practical statesmen ; but that they both come into power, pledged in the most solemn manner to their sovereign and the country, as advocates of unflinching retrenchment, and principles of reform adopted without reference to their operation on political friend or foe. The new lord chancellor stands more peculiarly bound before the world, not only to promote parliamentary reform, but to execute, on a broad and mighty scale, a plan of reform in the jurisprudence of the empire. But the first and last object of solicitude with the new ministry must be, that they accede to office by capitulation with the people—they must redress our grievances, or be for ever ruined.'

As it was necessary that the new ministers, who had vacated their seats by accepting office, should be re-elected, an opportunity was taken by the radical party of showing their strength, and an example shown of the danger of universal suffrage : in a contest at Preston, where the elective franchise is co-extensive with the occupancy of houses, Mr. Stanley, a statesman of distinguished abilities, heir of the house of Derby, and representative of what was denominated moderate reform, met with a mortifying but complete defeat by the notorious Henry Hunt, the great leader of English democrats. During the remainder of this year, no parliamentary business of importance was transacted, except the passing of a

CHAP.
LXVII.

1830.

regency bill, which had been recommended in the king's speech, and had been introduced into the house of lords on the day when the fate of the late cabinet was sealed in the commons: it provided, in case of his majesty's decease, that if there should be a posthumous child, the queen should be guardian and regent during the minority; if no such event should occur, the duchess of Kent was to be guardian and regent during the minority of her daughter, the princess Victoria, who was not to marry during that minority without the consent of the king, or, if he died, without the consent of both houses of parliament; and the regency of her mother was to cease, if while regent she married a foreigner. A select committee was appointed, on the ninth of December, to inquire into the reductions that might be effected in the salaries and emoluments of offices held during the pleasure of the crown by members of either house, and to report their opinion. On the twenty-third, both houses adjourned to the third of February; for ministers required the intervening period for the purpose of preparing the different measures which they intended to submit to parliament; more especially, that plan of reform, to which they had pledged themselves on accepting office, and by which alone they could hope to retain it.

Death of
Mr. Hus-
kisson.

Among the most interesting events of the present year, may be reckoned the opening of the Liverpool and Manchester railway, though attended by the lamentable death of Mr. Huskisson; who, as one of the members for Liverpool, accompanied the duke of Wellington in the procession: neglecting the caution repeatedly given to visitors against leaving the carriages, this unfortunate gentleman was knocked down by one of the returning engines; when his leg was so dreadfully crushed, that amputation could not be performed; and he died of that disorder which is called tetanus, so commonly occurring after extensive lacerated wounds. The great work, on which this melancholy accident took place, is the most important undertaking of the kind hitherto

completed : the cost, including the expenses of a carrying establishment, is said to have exceeded £1,200,000 ; and the distance, about thirty miles, is performed in a period of time, varying from one hour twenty-five minutes to one hour forty minutes, including a stoppage of some minutes at the half-way station. Here the employment of locomotive engines, at high-pressure velocities, was first introduced ; and in that, as well as other costly experiments, an immense expense was incurred, from which subsequent undertakings will be exempt : the accommodation which it has afforded to Liverpool and Manchester can hardly be overrated : as an evidence of this, it may be sufficient to state the fact, that the number of passengers between those towns was trebled in the first year, and has ever since gone on constantly increasing ; so that, notwithstanding the heavy outlay in its formation, and its current expenditure, the enterprise has been very profitable to the proprietors, whom it pays a dividend of ten per cent on their capital. Though it possesses peculiar local advantages, it may be said to have been the grand stimulus to that extension of a scheme, which threatens to overspread our land with railways : so many new projects and new routes have come before the public, that we are perplexed to obtain an intelligible idea of the complex whole ; and the result, when the great lines of intercourse shall be completed, and the velocity of movement carried to its height, is beyond the power of anticipation : this, however, may be said ; that the magnitude of the sums risked in this class of speculations indicates a degree of private wealth and enterprise, such as no time or country but our own has ever produced. Many persons affect to feel alarm at this : but it should be recollected, that so much money must be drawn from other investments ; while the disbursement of these vast sums will be spread over a series of years, and the accumulating power of capital is fully equal to it : of late, indeed, the great difficulty has been to find

CHAP.
LXVII.

1830.

CHAP.
LXVII.

1830.

investment for capital; and the returns for it, whether in lands, or houses, or manufactures, have greatly fallen: the effect of this new demand, if proper caution be used, will be to relieve the capitalist, and give a stimulus to the country—a wholesome stimulus too; because reproductive, and totally distinct from a war expenditure.

State of
foreign
nations.

Among the affairs of foreign states, it only remains to notice, that the spirit of popular insurrection, stimulated by success in France, appeared at Leipsic, Dresden, Hesse Cassel, Hamburg, Berne, Basle, and Poland: in this latter country, however, it sprung not from civil discord, or political machinations; but rather from the harsh and insulting proceedings of its viceroy, the grand duke Constantine, whose savage character had excluded him from popularity wherever his power had been felt. A contest took place in the streets of Warsaw, whence the Russian troops were expelled; and the archduke was eventually obliged to retire from the frontier; not however until it had been represented to him, that it was the universal wish of the nation, that the constitution should be carried into complete execution; that the promise of Alexander should be fulfilled, of incorporating with Poland its ancient provinces, now under the dominion of Russia; but that no demands pointed to the dethronement of the emperor as their king, in whose name had been effected all the changes lately made in the government: doubtful, however, in what light Nicholas I. would regard these proceedings, the Poles prepared themselves for resistance if he should determine to treat them as rebels: general Klopicki was named commander in chief, and soon found himself at the head of a regular and respectable army: divided, however, and mutilated as Poland was, it seemed a hopeless prospect for a portion of it to engage unassisted in a struggle with the gigantic power of Russia; while to this was added the apprehension, (too soon, alas! to be realised) lest Austria and Prussia, in fear for their plunder, should be adverse

to its cause: the Poles, however, made themselves ready for the contest with stout hearts; and to secure energy and promptitude in their measures, invested Klopicki with dictatorial power: but even in assuming this office, which was to last only until the chambers could be convened, the general disclaimed any intention, on the part of his country, to throw off its king, or to demand any thing more than an independent national existence under him, together with the free constitution which had once been promised. Of what avail, however, were promises with Nicholas and his Russian nobles, who now viewed unhappy Poland with eyes of conquest and spoliation, like those with which English monarchs and their favorites once were accustomed to regard Ireland? Two commissioners were sent to Petersburg, to attempt some terms of compromise; but the emperor would not listen to their representations, and issued his proclamation, threatening the unhappy Poles with the severest punishment for conduct, which he described as 'horrid treason.' The result is too well known; and while the apathy of our own government and that of France is little to be commended, who can sufficiently execrate the imperial and royal kites, who watched over the skeleton of Poland, while the eagle picked its bones?

Before the revolution of July, the French government had sent a powerful fleet and army to Algiers; when the dey, having capitulated to the notorious general Bourmont, retired to Naples, and left the head of the piratical states in the hands of its conquerors. The expedition was principally undertaken to obtain the glory of a military exploit which had baffled the most powerful nations of Europe, and of thus opening an avenue to popularity for the bigoted and despotic government of Charles X. 'Allah! Allah! God is great, and the avenger of injustice!' exclaimed the expatriated dey in his southern asylum, when he heard of the northern flight subsequently taken by the French monarch.

CHAP.
LXVII.

1830.

In Spain, 'the beloved Ferdinand' deeply offended the Carlists by his abolition of the Salique law, in favor of the child, if it should be a female, with which his queen was pregnant; and thus gave rise to a war, which has so long desolated the northern provinces of Spain, as well as to the quadripartite treaty, under which it was hoped that harassed country might enjoy the blessings of a constitutional government. In Portugal, Don Miguel, still cut off from direct communication with all European sovereigns, except his worthy brother of Spain, continued, by means of special commissions, to take vengeance on those of his subjects suspected of political delinquencies, and to supply his wants by the confiscation of their property: blood indeed had ceased to flow; but a more terrible and lingering destruction was ensured to his victims, by their deportation to servitude in the African settlements. At the beginning of the year, about fifty persons, whose only offence was, that they were suspected of being malcontents, were shipped off for Angola: though of good families and respectable character, they were chained up with the most abandoned ruffians, robbers, and assassins, doomed to the same punishment for their crimes: to revive the horrors of a slave-ship in the middle passage, they were stowed away in the smallest space possible, within a vessel heavily laden with stores for the colony; and while the best accommodation was reserved for the malefactors, the more pestilential and deadly berths were left to magistrates, members of the Cortes, and other reputable persons, victims of their own loyalty or of their vile master's suspicions: out of respect for their former station, and pity for their present sufferings, these men had been for some time spared the fatigues of hard labor; but the superintendent soon received orders to discontinue that misplaced lenity.¹¹ The political prisoners in the dungeons at Lisbon were scarcely less fortunate:

¹¹ See Annual Register for 1830, p. 295, &c.

trials they could not obtain ; nor could any, even when known to be innocent, procure their liberty : those who were confined in the castle of St. Julian, underwent such unheard of cruelties from the infamous Telles Jordao, that hundreds were driven to insanity ; and the rest procured a petition to be sent in their behalf to Miguel : but their complaints were poured into ears deaf to mercy ; not even the death of his mother, who had been justly blamed for much of this cruelty, made any change in the tiger's disposition which she had imparted to her son. Yet this was the monster, whom the duke of Wellington's administration was anxious to treat as a sovereign ; and for him, its adherents, when out of office, were continually taunting earl Grey, because that nobleman disdained to contaminate the fair fame of Britain by an alliance with infamy. Part of the Portuguese navy was employed in a very inefficient attempt to blockade Terceira, where the regency, in the name of the young queen, was still ruling ; and Miguel made this a pretext for seizing some English vessels : deaf to all remonstrances from the British consul, he did not long hesitate, when a threat to employ force reached him, to give up the pretended prizes to their owners.

In the early part of this year, the regal sovereignty of Greece, which had been declined by prince John of Saxony, was formally offered by the protecting powers to prince Leopold of Saxe Coburg : but though he had once been extremely anxious for this prize, he had lately been worked on by the representations of the crafty Capo d'Istria ; while he saw in the illness of George IV., which was likely to terminate fatally, new prospects opening to his ambition : the question therefore regarding the boundaries of the new kingdom, and the separation of Candia from its territory, formed a ready pretext for his rejection of the offer ; nor did the public voice disapprove his repugnance to become the ruler of a discontented people, under the auspices of a foreign league. In Belgium, where

CHAP.
LXVII.

1830.

this favorite of fortune finally obtained a crown, the progress of military events was interrupted by foreign interference, but not before the insurgents had made themselves masters of Antwerp; general Chassé having withdrawn his troops into the citadel, and established a convention, by which he was to remain there unmolested, on condition of his not firing into the town, while the insurgent army retired from the neighborhood. The kingdom of the united Netherlands had been created by Great Britain, Austria, Russia, Prussia, and France; which powers held themselves intitled to look after their own work: some of them would willingly have interfered, for the purpose of compelling the Belgians to submit by force: the Rhenish provinces of Prussia were directly exposed to the infection of that spirit which had severed the united kingdom; the Germanic confederation was already attacked by formal claims on Luxemburg; and the king of the Netherlands had appealed to the allied powers to preserve the throne which they themselves had set up: on the other hand, it was certain that the new government of France would favor the independence of Belgium; and its people would desire nothing more ardently than a pretext for war, which might terminate in the restoration of these provinces to their dominion. One party in Belgium openly declared, that 'her interests demanded a reunion with France; and there was no doubt that she would receive the protection of that power, in case any of the allies should employ force to renew her connexion with Holland:' armed interference therefore was out of the question, since all deprecated the chance of another general war: nevertheless, all agreed to interpose their good offices; and as their first object was to stop hostilities, a protocol, signed at London on the fourth of November, signified that these must cease on both sides. Thus commenced a series of negotiations, involving as many difficulties, and counteracted by as many conflicting interests, as

any piece of diplomatic agency in the history of European politics. CHAP.
LXVII.

While the members of administration were occupied in framing the new parliamentary constitution, meetings were held in all parts of the country, for the purpose of getting up petitions to support government in its policy; and perhaps there never was a period when domestic and foreign affairs formed a stronger combination in favor of any public measure: every thing indeed for a long time had been gradually tending to such a consummation; and it had long been seen, that reform must follow the progress of intelligence, as light follows the rising of the sun: the old system, when fully exposed and understood, necessarily disgusted every liberal and informed mind; and this system, by the late war, and the expenditure consequent on it, had been carried to its highest pitch. The debt of Great Britain, the weight of taxation, the distress produced by agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial failures, the alteration of our currency, and the actual misery of a starving population;—these causes, together with the example of France, acting on minds prepared for change, set the whole kingdom in a ferment; and not only the correction of acknowledged abuses, but immediate relief from every national calamity, was confidently expected by the multitude, in a reform of parliament. However men might differ as to the means by which this object was to be attained, the demand itself signified, in the mouths of all, that the power and efficacy of the democratical part of the constitution should be increased: therefore, if the British constitution was to be preserved, the answer to the question, whether reform should be granted, depended on the degree to which the control of the great body of the people, acting by the house of commons over the measures of government, should be increased; and this was a question to be decided by sound reason, not by the mere fact that certain bodies of men desired political power. The pe-

1831.
State of the
public mind
respecting
reform.

CHAP.
LXVII.

1831.

titions now industriously manufactured throughout the country were, as might have been expected, generally deficient regarding this, the only intelligible question that could arise; yet they fully answered the purpose of ministers, by announcing the general proposition, that change was necessary.

But beside the usual machinery of petitions, political unions had already been extensively formed, for the purpose of organising large numbers of individuals into one body, which might act on the public mind around them, and press their opinions on the government, in a spirit of dictation, though under the pretence of support.

Introduc-
tion of re-
form bill.

In this state of affairs parliament met, pursuant to adjournment, on the third of February, when earl Grey stated, that, although it had been a work of considerable difficulty, ministers had at last succeeded in framing a proposition which would be effective, without exceeding the bounds of a just and well-advised moderation: it had been unanimously sanctioned by government, and would be introduced into the house of commons at as early a period as possible. Accordingly, on the first of March, this great measure was brought forward by lord John Russell, to whom, though not a cabinet minister, it was entrusted, in consideration of his constant and strenuous exertions in the cause of parliamentary reform. After a very elaborate speech, which his lordship commenced by declaring that ministers wished to take their stand between hostile parties, though he laid it down as a principle that the question of right was in favor of the reformers,—since the ancient constitution of the country declared, that no man should be taxed for the support of the state, who had not consented by himself or his representative to the imposition of the taxes,—he proceeded to detail the plan by which ministers proposed to satisfy a demand for reform, which, as they themselves believed, could be no longer resisted. That plan had been so framed as to remove all reasonable complaints of the people;

which complaints were principally directed, first, against nomination by individuals; secondly, against elections by corporations; and, thirdly, against electioneering expenses. With regard to the first two grounds of complaint, the ministerial plan consisted, first, of disfranchisement, in whole or in part, of places which had hitherto sent members to parliament; secondly, of enfranchisement, in order to enable places, which had been hitherto unrepresented, to elect members; thirdly, of an extension of the franchise, in order to increase the number of electors in those places which were to be allowed to retain, in whole or in part, their existing privileges. All voters were to be duly registered; and in order to diminish the expenses of elections, as well as opportunities for bribery, drunkenness, and corruption, the duration of the poll was to be diminished; and that for counties to be taken simultaneously at different places. His lordship, having thus drawn the general outline of the bill; entered into the changes that were to be introduced into the representation of Scotland and Ireland. The general result of the measure, he said, would be to create a new constituency of about half a million; for the increase in counties would be about 100,000, that in towns already represented about 110,000, in new boroughs 50,000, in London 95,000, in Scotland 60,000, and in Ireland perhaps 40,000: on this numerous body, connected with property, and possessing a valuable stake in the country, it would depend, if any future struggle should arise, to support parliament and the throne, in carrying that struggle to a successful termination. The probability of the possession of this franchise would be an inducement to good conduct; for when a man found, that by being rated at a certain rent, and by paying rates, he became intitled to vote in the election of members of that house, he would feel an inducement to be careful, frugal, and punctual in his dealings; to preserve a character among his neighbors, and the place which he might hold in

CHAP.
LXVII.

1831.

society; so that this large increase of the constituency would provide for the political and moral improvement of the people. The necessary results of the arrangements he had detailed, was to diminish the number of members by sixty-two; but it was thought that this diminution would enable the house to transact the public business more conveniently and effectually. After accounting satisfactorily for two omissions which might possibly be brought as charges against him,—that no provision was made for shortening the duration of parliaments, or for introducing the vote by ballot,—his lordship concluded by requesting leave to bring in his bill. This motion brought on a debate, which lasted seven nights, and elicited opinions from more than seventy speakers; but in the end, leave was granted to the noble mover of the bill to introduce it into the house; which was accordingly done on the fourteenth of March. It was not certainly known, why the opponents of this measure allowed so keen and lengthened a contest to terminate without a division: ministers afterwards admitted, that, if it had taken place, they expected to have been left in a minority; but the opposition did not at that time form a combined body, with any regular plan of operations, under the guidance of any able leader.

From the moment when the general outlines of the plan had been discussed in parliament, public excitement daily increased; and although few of those changes were proposed, for which violent reformers had been most clamorous; yet these persons immediately altered their tone, and professed to receive the bill with joy: it gave them, indeed, less than they desired, but it promised more than they had ever expected; and they were told by their leaders, whose hopes lay in the future, that as ministers had determined to go no farther, all would be lost, unless government were strenuously supported by those who thought a change desirable: hence their determination to forget what they con-

sidered its defects ; to be silent regarding the ballot, universal suffrage, and annual parliaments ; to enforce the scheme by every legal method ; and to make 'the bill, the whole bill, and nothing but the bill,' the watch-word of their party. On the twenty-first, the second reading was moved ; when Sir R. Vyvyan, one of the members for Cornwall, after insisting, in a long address to the house, on the danger of introducing into our legislature a democratic influence, to which in no long time the other branches would be compelled to yield,—proposed, as an amendment, 'that the bill should be read that day six months : ' on this motion the house divided, when there appeared for the amendment, 301 ; against it, 302 ; leaving lord John Russell a majority of only one in an assembly of more than 600 members : it was also well known, that this very majority contained many who had expressed a determination not to support all the provisions of the bill ; and more still, who, being too timid to resist the principle of the measure, were equally resolved to modify it in committee, though their intention was not declared. When his lordship, therefore, on the eighteenth of April, moved the order of the day for a committee of the whole house, general Gascoyne, one of the members for Liverpool, endeavored to get rid of the bill by a motion for counteracting one of its essential clauses, respecting the diminution of the number of representatives : this produced a violent and contentious debate, which, being adjourned to the following day, concluded by leaving ministers in a minority of eight. The chancellor of the exchequer had declared in his speech, that he knew the object of this amendment had a tendency to destroy the bill ; and it was evident from the beginning that a majority of the present house could not be relied on by its supporters ; but ministers did not seem at first determined to have recourse to a dissolution : at length, however, being harassed by the stanch reformers on one side, and on the other by intem-

CHAP.
LXVII.

1831.

Dissolution
of parlia-
ment.

perate speeches of anti-reformers in both houses, they resolved on this measure : the king went down to the house of lords ; and, in the midst of one of the most extraordinary scenes that ever occurred in that place, prorogued parliament to the tenth of May : next day it was dissolved, and a new parliament appointed to meet on the fourteenth of June. The whole empire was by this step thrown into a state of extraordinary agitation and excitement : in many places, the dissolution was celebrated by illuminations ; and in London, the unrestrained rabble vented their rage on the houses of individuals who had expressed sentiments unfavorable to the bill : among them, was that of Mr. Baring, the first of English merchants ; and of the duke of Wellington, the chief of British warriors. Though the old borough system still remained unimpaired, wherever any election partaking of a popular character took place, the tories were discomfited : general Gascoyne was thrown out for Liverpool, Sir R. Vyvyan for Cornwall, Mr. Banks for Dorsetshire ; and in most places the popular cause was triumphant.

As nothing but the important nature of the reform question, toward which so many other measures had a converging tendency, would have brought this history within the limits of the present reign, we must be content with alluding cursorily to other matters connected with our later annals. On the eleventh of February, lord Althorp opened the budget, estimating the charge for the year at £46,850,000 ; while the revenue, on account of the many taxes repealed, would yield only £47,150,000, and thus give an excess over the charge of only about £300,000 ; a very scanty allowance, which did not afford much room for the reduction of taxation : still he was of opinion that something might be done ; especially by reducing those imposts which pressed on the industry of the country ; by relieving trade from fiscal embarrassments ; and by introducing in many cases a more equal distribution of taxes. A vehe-

ment opposition was made to many of his lordship's changes, more especially to a tax on transfers in the public funds, which he agreed to abandon, though a large party in the country, suffering under the effects of heavy taxation, were unable to see the justice of exempting funded property from the payment of a small sum, in return for the protection afforded to it: ministers were also defeated, on a division, in regard to a proposed diminution of duties on Baltic timber, and an augmentation of those on timber grown in Canada. Among other items of the budget abandoned or modified, was a tax on steam-boat passengers, which being denounced from all sides of the house, was thrown overboard; and an increased duty on our colonial wines, which his lordship consented to reduce. When the arrangements of the civil list came to be considered, the members of the late administration expressed great satisfaction, that the present ministers, so loud against profuse expenditure when out of office, and pledged to retrenchment when they came in, had been forced to acknowledge that they could not carry economy in this matter farther than it had been carried by their predecessors: the most material changes made, after the abolition of certain offices, were the reduction of the pension list in future to the sum of £75,000 per annum, and the subtraction of £460,000 from the civil list, to be placed under the control of parliament; but this system of retrenchment was far from satisfactory to Messrs. Hume, Hunt, and other members of that party. Another point, on which ministers had to encounter the opposition of old allies, and to receive the support of former antagonists, was a proposal, which they found themselves bound in prudence to make for an increase of the army by 7680 men. No opposition, however, was offered to a resolution moved in consequence of a royal message, assigning to the queen, in case she should survive his majesty, £100,000 per annum, with Marlborough-house and Bushy-park, as town and country residences.

CHAP.
LXVII.

1831.
Meeting of
new par-
liament.

New re-
form bill.

The new parliament met on the fourteenth of June; but a week having elapsed while members were sworn in and a speaker was elected, his majesty did not open the session in person till the twenty-first; when he read his speech with remarkable firmness, and returned to St. James's palace amid the enthusiastic greetings and acclamations of the people. After some warm altercation among the peers on a question of order, and in both houses respecting the conduct of ministers, as not acting with proper vigor to suppress riotous proceedings occasioned by the late illuminations, the addresses were agreed to without any amendment being proposed. On the twenty-fourth, lord John Russell again brought forward, in the name of ministers, that measure of reform, which, in their opinion, was calculated to maintain unimpaired the prerogative of the crown, with the rights and liberties of the people: after taking a retrospective view of what had occurred in the late parliament, and eulogising the spirit of patriotism manifested by the great body of electors throughout the kingdom in the choice of independent representatives, his lordship proceeded to observe, 'that with regard to the general features of the plan, he did not think it necessary to enter particularly into them, because they were substantially the same as those of the measure recently proposed; and as the slight alterations which had been made were improvements intended to carry its principles into effect, it would be sufficient to leave such details till the bill went into committee.' Sir Robert Peel professed at once his unaltered sentiments in opposition to the measure, but declined any discussion of its merits till the second reading, which, at his suggestion, was postponed from the thirtieth of June, as originally intended, to the fourth of July: on that day, an animated debate took place, which was adjourned to the fifth; when the speech of Mr. Macauley, a young barrister, and nominee of lord Lansdowne for the borough of Calne, elicited much applause: its

conclusion was as follows :—‘The country and their children, for ages to come, would call this the second bill of rights—the greater charter of the liberties of England: he believed that the year 1831 was destined to exhibit to mankind the first example of a great, complicated, and deeply rooted system of abuses removed without violence, bloodshed, and rapine; all points fully debated, all forms observed, the fruits of industry not destroyed, and the authority of the law not suspended: these were things which might well make Englishmen proud of the age and country in which they lived: these were things which might make them look with confidence to the future destinies of the human race—which might make them look forward to a long series of tranquil and happy years, during which nothing would disturb the concord of a popular government and a loyal people; of years, in which if war should be inevitable, it would find the people a united nation; of years, pre-eminently distinguished, by the mitigation of public burdens, by the prosperity of industry, by the reformation of jurisprudence, and by all the victories of peace; in which, far more than in military triumphs, consisted the true prosperity of states, and the true glory of statesmen. It was with such feelings and hopes that he gave his most cordial assent to this measure of reform, which in itself he considered desirable, and which, in the present temper of the public mind, appeared to him indispensably necessary to the repose of the empire, and the stability of government.’

The discussion this day was closed by Sir George Murray, one of the late ministry, who also concluded his speech with a prophecy, though totally opposite in character to that of the member for Calne. He said, ‘the bill would have the effect of raising up another Cromwell, who was perhaps even then exulting in secret at the success of the present measure; and saying to himself at that moment, in the words of Oliver, his prototype—‘The Lord hath delivered them into my hands.’ The period for the

CHAP.
LXVII.

1831.

appearance of this personage in the field had not yet arrived; he would not be there before the fifth act of the piece; and then, perhaps, he would be seen endeavoring to gather together the fragments of the constitution, which the noble lord's measure would have scattered and dispersed.' Another adjournment took place till the following day, when Sir Robert Peel went over the whole ground of argument, historically and politically: he maintained, 'that the small boroughs were not a usurpation on the rights of the people; but that they had existed at an early period, and had continued ever since: although it might not be easy to defend the sale of these boroughs; yet it would be impossible to eradicate the evil, without depriving the country of much good, which more than counterbalanced it. There had been no reform of parliament for more than 400 years; but so elastic were the principles which gave it force, in accommodating themselves to the spirit of the age and the circumstances of the people, that the house had governed this country far better than any other country had ever been governed: feeling thus, he would give his opposition to the bill, which, in his opinion, went to diminish, not to increase, the security of our permanent liberty and happiness.' Lord J. Russell closed the debate with a defence of his plan, and at five o'clock in the morning a division took place; when the numbers were, for the second reading 367, and for the amendment 231, leaving a majority of 136 in favor of ministers.

On the twelfth, it was proposed that the house should go into a committee; when lord Maitland, one of the members for Appleby, rose to oppose the disfranchisement of that borough, on the score of a mistake in the population returns; moving that counsel be heard against the bill, as far as regarded that point: ministers, however, declared, they would resist any such inquiry to the utmost; asking, whether the progress of this great measure was to be stopped for the examination of so insignificant a

case ; and whether a majority of the house would allow themselves to be so trifled with : the bill, it was said, was not one of pains and penalties ; and members would be heard, in committee, concerning this or any other borough. After a stormy debate, the motion was negatived : an adjournment was then moved, and disposed of in a similar manner. The original motion, ' that the speaker do leave the chair,' being again put, an amendment was proposed, ' that the house do now adjourn : ' this produced another violent altercation, the result of which placed ministers in a powerful majority. After five more distinct motions for an adjournment of the debate, all of which were defeated, the bill went into a committee ; and the house broke up at half-past seven in the morning.

CHAP.
LXVII.

1831.

The measure was now discussed, clause by clause, subject, not only to the opposition of argumentative and high-minded statesmen, but to all the vexatious harassings of party faction, from the twelfth of July to the fifteenth of September ; when it was ordered to be engrossed : on the nineteenth, lord J. Russell moved the third reading ; and there appeared, for the motion 113, against it 58 : two days more, however, were occupied in debating the question, ' that the bill do pass ; ' in the course of which, several speakers exerted their oratorical powers, though much novelty of argument was not to be expected : among them, none was more animated than Sir Charles Wetherell, who hoped that the house would take warning from France, where concessions had been followed only by destruction ; and he concluded his speech, by expressing his conviction, that the bill, if carried, would subvert the throne, the church, and, ultimately, the liberties of the people.

The numbers, on a division, were ayes 345, noes 236 ; leaving a majority of 109 for ministers. Next day, lord J. Russell, accompanied by many members, appeared at the bar of the upper house, and delivered the bill to the lord chancellor ; when it

Reform bill
passed by
the com-
mons.

CHAP. was read a first time, *pro forma*, and ordered to be
LXVII. read a second time on the third of October.

1831.
Opening of
new Lon-
don Bridge.

On Monday, the first of August, the ceremony of opening new London Bridge was honored by the presence of the king and queen, who partook of a splendid banquet, in a pavilion erected on this magnificent structure: on the day following, another exhibition of royalty took place, in the procession of their majesties to the house of lords, that the king might give his assent to the queen's dower bill: after a short adjournment, the same day, the house resumed its sitting; when, in consequence of a royal message, delivered by earl Grey, the importance of making a farther provision to support the honor and dignity of the princess Victoria, as presumptive heiress to the crown, was taken into consideration; when it appeared, that in consequence of prince Leopold's election to the Belgic throne, the allowance of £6000 per annum, which he had hitherto made to his sister and niece, had been withdrawn: lord Althorp, in the other house, gave the same account as a reason for an additional grant of £10,000 per annum to the income of the duchess; and the resolution was agreed to. The eighth of September was fixed for the coronation of William IV.,; when this ceremony, shorn of the grotesque and inappropriate pageantry of chivalric times, was confined to the interior of the Abbey; and, as former coronations had been attended with great expense, no dinner took place in Westminster-hall on the present occasion. The royal procession moved in state carriages from St. James's palace, escorted by superb bodies of cavalry; and as soon as the king appeared, he was received with cheers from the multitude, such as greeted his father in the best of times: his majesty, the first naval king that ever sat on the British throne, was dressed in an admiral's uniform; and his august consort was in white, with brilliants in her head-dress: as the procession passed, the bands, stationed at different

Coronation
of Wil-
liam IV.

points, played the national anthem ; and the enthusiasm of the people seemed carried to the highest pitch. In conformity with precedents, the coronation was distinguished by the grant of new honors, in the creation of three marquisses, four earls, and fifteen barons ; which increase of the peerage was soon afterwards succeeded by the addition of twenty-eight names to the list of baronets of the united kingdom.

As the time approached when the fate of parliamentary reform was to be decided in the upper house, the feelings of the public were wound up to the highest degree of excitement : numerous petitions were presented to the lords from counties, cities, corporations, religious societies, and individuals, praying, and in some cases even demanding, that they would pass the bill without mutilation. Previously to the regular discussion of the measure, occasional opportunities were taken by several of their lordships to deliver an opinion on the general question ; and from these light skirmishes, it was soon seen that the great battle would be obstinately contested : at length, on Tuesday, the third of October, after the presentation of sixty-three petitions in favor of the bill by the lord chancellor, fifty-three by lord Radnor, eight by the marquis of Cleveland, and a large number by other peers, the order of the day was read ; when earl Grey commenced a very elaborate and energetic oration, in which he gave a brief sketch of his own political life, declaring that he had been the constant and consistent advocate of parliamentary reform for nearly half a century ; and that too, amid circumstances of much difficulty and danger, in seasons of great political convulsion and violence : his lordship was at first deeply affected, and for a few minutes was obliged, amid the sympathising cheers of the house, to resume his seat. After enforcing, by many arguments and apposite illustrations, the necessity of timely concession to the demands of the people, he turned in conclusion to the episcopal

CHAP.
LXVII.

1831.

bench; and, addressing its occupants, said, 'that the eyes of the country were on them:', he called on them, 'to set their house in order, and prepare to meet the coming storm; to consider seriously what would be the opinion of the country, should a measure, on which the nation had fixed its hope, be defeated by their influence.' As they were the ministers of peace, earnestly did he hope that the result of their votes would be such as might tend to the tranquillity and happiness of the country: as regarded all their lordships, spiritual and temporal, he hoped the consequences of the rejection of this bill would be seriously considered; for those consequences would be serious. As to the effect which the rejection or adoption of the measure might produce to himself, or the administration of which he formed a part, it was a matter of insignificance: he would only say, that by this measure he was prepared to stand or fall: the question of his continuance in office for one hour, would depend on the prospect of being able to carry through, what he considered so important to the tranquillity, to the safety, and to the happiness of the country: he concluded with moving, 'that the bill be read a second time.' There can be no doubt that his lordship was deeply impressed with a conviction of the excellency of the measure which he so strenuously recommended, as well as of its necessity in the present state of affairs; but his best friends must ever regret his injudicious, not to say cruel appeal to the spiritual peers, at a period when the public mind was in so high a state of excitement.

Lord Wharncliffe next rose, and observed, 'that the measure, if completed, would draw into the house of commons all the power and privileges of the lords, and probably of the crown itself: the constitution could not go on with such a system as that which this bill would establish, taking away all checks on the ebullition of popular feeling, and supplying nothing in their place.' The noble baron, after dissecting the bill, and pointing out several

inconsistencies, went on to show, that a house of commons, formed on such a basis, would become too much an image of the people; in which case, it would be impossible that 300 or 400 titled persons should have the power of arresting any of its movements: the dangerous position, in which their lordships now stood, proved the truth of the assertion: they had a popular, or rather a delegated house of commons, which in consequence had passed this measure; and they were told, that they had nothing to do but to record and register the decree: he concluded, by moving 'that the bill be rejected;' but on learning that this mode of proceeding implied disrespect toward the lower house, his lordship was permitted to withdraw his motion for another, 'that the second reading be postponed to that day six months.' An adjournment of the debate then took place till next day; when the principal speakers were,—for the bill, viscount Melbourne; and against it, lord Harrowby and the duke of Wellington. The latter, after adverting to the declaration against reform made by himself last session, and complaining of being misrepresented, declared that this bill went to violate both the principle and practice of the constitution: the town representation would be thrown by it into the hands of close self-elected committees; and by an undue enlargement of town constituencies, the balance of the agricultural representation of counties would be destroyed: the bill would create a fierce democratic constituency, and consequently a fierce and democratic body of representatives: under it the churches of England and Ireland would soon cease to exist. Next day, the adjourned debate was resumed; when the earl of Dudley said, 'that the measure, framed as it now was, proceeded on the monstrous supposition, that we had never had a good government, and that the people had always been deprived of their rights: the populace had been induced to support it, foolishly conceiving that it would extend commerce, make trade more brisk, give more general em-

CHAP.
LXVII.

1831.

ployment to the laboring classes, and make bread cheaper.' The marquis of Lansdowne admitted changes to be great evils, especially in so complicated a state of society as our own: but it would be found, from a careful perusal of the statute-book, that, in those important periods of our history, the reformation, the revolution, the succession of the house of Hanover, the union with Scotland, and that with Ireland, as well as the recent disfranchisement of the Irish freeholders,—the laws, legalising those events, were but so many instances, in which the old institutions of the country were made to bend to a great political expediency. The marquis of Londonderry characterised the measure as unjust, unconstitutional, and unprincipled, framed for the purpose of rendering whig supremacy perpetual. Viscount Goderich justly observed, 'this was no new question, having been agitated through a period of more than half a century; and though it might occasionally slumber, it could not become wholly dormant; since there was something in the constitution of human nature, which made it impossible for the subject ever to be extinguished.' Lord Plunkett stigmatised the assertion,—that this bill would become an instrument in the hands of the people, to destroy the church and other established institutions,—as an outrageous libel on them: in the debate, however, next day, that assertion was strongly repeated by lords Wynford and Eldon; the latter of whom entered on a long train of legal argument, against the right of parliament to deprive boroughs and corporations of privileges, to which they were as much intitled as the members of that house were to their peerages. The lord chancellor next rose, and, in a speech of four hours' duration, went over all the arguments that had been brought against the measure in the course of the preceding debates; on some of which he animadverted with great severity, and in a style of sarcasm, which elicited peals of merriment at the expense of the noble personages attacked: in conclusion, he re-

quested them not to persuade themselves, that even if the present government were to be driven from office by the defeat of this bill, they would get rid of the great bugbear reform. 'No, my lords,' he said, 'the government that would succeed us, under such circumstances, would be one far less auspicious to your lordships than the present: you would be compelled to grant a measure of reform, compared with which, this we now proffer to you, would be moderation: remember the often-quoted story of the Sibyl and her oracles, and learn from it the value of time taken by the forelock. You are the highest judicial authority in the realm; and it is the first duty of judges never to decide in any, even the most trifling cause, without hearing every thing that can be given in evidence respecting it: do not then decide the great cause of a nation's hopes and fears without a hearing: beware of your decision; rouse not the spirit of a peace-loving, but determined people; alienate not the affections of a great empire from your body. As your friend, as the friend of my country, as the servant of my sovereign, I counsel you to assist us with all your efforts in preserving the national peace, and perpetuating the national prosperity: for all these reasons, I pray and beseech you not to reject this bill: I call on you by all you hold most dear, by all that binds every one of us to our common order and our common country, unless you are prepared to say that you will admit of no reform, and are resolved against any change, I solemnly adjure you, yea, even on bended knees, my lords, (here the chancellor slightly bent his knee on the woolsack) I implore you, not to reject this bill.'

CHAP.
LXVII.

1831.

Lord Lyndhurst followed, and complained of the manner in which the opposition, of which he formed a part, had been treated, both in and out of that house, as the supporters of old and obsolete prejudices, or even as men influenced by sordid and personal motives: but if they did err, they erred under very high authority: the battle they were now

CHAP.
LXVII.

1831.

fighting, the language they now held, the principles they were now advocating, had been fought, upheld, and advocated by the greatest statesmen and the most profound philosophers that had ever taken part in any discussion : passing, however, over the dead, he would come to the living ; and in vindication of the error committed by the opponents of this bill, if error it was, he would appeal to the authority of some of the noble lords who were now its supporters. Here his lordship mentioned earl Grey, as having, till the present occasion, always limited his views to a gradual reform ; he appealed also to the nominal author of the bill, lord J. Russell, as having hitherto professed the same moderate sentiments ; and, lastly, he quoted, to the same purpose, a letter written by the chancellor, when Mr. Brougham ; in which he stated, ‘above all things, that disfranchisement formed no part of his plan of reform.’ This produced an interruption on the part of the lord chancellor, who said, that the letter referred to had been stolen from his private depository by one of his servants, who sold it to a newspaper ; in consequence of which, an injunction from the court of chancery had been obtained, to prevent its circulation. Lord Lyndhurst, after this explanation, proceeded to state what would be the effects of the bill, if brought into operation : first, the destruction of the Irish protestant church ; next, a general confiscation of ecclesiastical property in both countries ; after which, the rights and privileges of their lordships would be trampled in the dust, together with the liberties of their country. The archbishop of Canterbury, in a speech of great moderation, justified the vote he intended to give against a measure, which he thought mischievous in its tendency, and dangerous to the fabric of our constitution. The duke of Sussex, on the contrary, thought it would add to our prosperity, and secure tranquillity, order, and peace in the empire. The duke of Gloucester was not averse to a safe constitutional plan, for the correction of such abuses as might have crept into the system : this,

however, was not a measure of reform, but a new invention, which would lead to the destruction of our most valued institutions. After some observations from several other peers, earl Grey replied to the leading arguments urged against the bill, and finally declared, that 'he would not abandon the king, to whom he was bound by obligations of gratitude, greater perhaps than any subject ever owed to a sovereign, for the kind manner in which he had extended to him confidence and support; as well as for the indulgence with which he had accepted his offers and best endeavors to serve the throne: place was not sought by him; but it had been offered under such circumstances, that nothing but a sense of duty could have induced him to accept it: he had performed that duty to the utmost of his power, and would continue to do so; but if parliament and the nation should withdraw their confidence from him, and he could no longer be a useful servant to his majesty, he would resign office, and carry with him into retirement the consciousness of having done his best to serve his king and country.' The house, at a quarter past six on Saturday morning, divided; and the amendment, 'that the bill be read that day six months,' was carried against ministers, by a majority of forty-one.

CHAP.
LXVII.

1831.

Rejection of
the reform
bill by the
lords.

When the public were made acquainted with this decision, the intelligence produced an extraordinary sensation in the country, and meetings were instantly convened in the metropolis: one was held at the Thatched-house Tavern, consisting of all the members who had supported the bill in its passage through the commons. With equal promptitude the common council assembled; and this was followed by a meeting, at the Mansion-house, of merchants and bankers; who passed resolutions, approving the conduct of government, and pledging themselves to its support: petitions also were carried to the king, praying him to continue his ministers, and have recourse to a new creation of peers, sufficient in numbers to carry the bill. On the ninth of October,

CHAP.
LXVII.

1831.

lord Ebrington, in the house of commons, moved a resolution, declaratory of its unabated confidence in his majesty's ministers, and its determination of adhering to the reform bill; and this, being carried by a majority of 131, secured the continuance of earl Grey's administration: the two houses were occupied for several nights in desultory discussions on the state of public feeling, and the disturbances thence proceeding; but, on the twentieth, parliament was prorogued by the king in person; who, on his return to the palace, was accompanied with the same enthusiastic cheering as he received on his way to the house.

Tumultu-
ous pro-
ceedings.

The rejection of the reform bill by the lords produced, as might have been expected, an ebullition of popular resentment throughout the kingdom: in London, the lord mayor and corporation went to St. James's with an address to the throne; and the civic procession was joined in its route by such numerous bodies with similar addresses, that before it reached the palace, it consisted of more than 50,000 persons: soon after their arrival, the parochial deputies waited on lord Melbourne, who prudently advised them to commit their addresses to the county members, for presentation that day at the levee: this was done, and announced to the multitude by Mr. Hume, who exhorted them to be firm, united, and peaceable; but to disperse immediately, and give no advantage to the enemies of reform: this salutary advice, however, was thrown away on the crowd, who commenced an attack on the mansions of the marquis of Bristol and duke of Wellington, the windows of which they intirely demolished. Being driven thence by the police, they re-assembled at the house of earl Dudley, which owed its safety to the same excellent establishment: vast numbers had collected in the Park, evidently waiting for the departure of such peers as were known to be anti-reformers; and the marquis of Londonderry, being recognised, was received with volleys of stones, from which he suffered severely; but the duke of Cumberland was even dragged from

his horse, and would probably have been killed, if he had not been rescued by the police.

CHAP.
LXVII.

1831.

In the country, violence and outrage were at first confined to the counties of Derby and Nottingham; at the latter of which places, the mob set fire to the castle, the seat of the duke of Newcastle, the most hated of all tory leaders, and the head of borough proprietors. No one could suppose that the wishes or opinions of mobs like these were to be taken for a moment into account in the decision of a great political question; and in both houses of parliament ministers loudly expressed their disapprobation of such proceedings, but were charged by their opponents with having indirectly encouraged the rioters by the language they had held, and the connexion in which they had placed themselves with large bodies of men acting illegally: certain it is, that while the bill was before the lords, a meeting of political unions took place at Birmingham, where, it was asserted, though undoubtedly with great exaggeration, that 150,000 persons were congregated together. This assembly voted an address to the king, setting forth their alarm 'at the awful consequences' which might arise from the failure of the bill; their pain at imagining it possible 'that the house of lords should be so infatuated as to reject it;' and their earnest desire that his majesty would create as many peers as might be necessary to ensure its success. In the speeches of several persons who harangued the meeting, the most violent doctrines were broached; and one of the resolutions agreed to, was a vote of thanks to lord Althorp and lord John Russell: this was certainly acknowledged by those statesmen in terms which were considered too courteous toward such an illegal and dangerous association; as well as bearing too hard on that branch of the legislature, against which popular indignation was particularly directed.

The continuance of earl Grey in office, and his majesty's declaration, 'that he had the highest con-

Riots at
Bristol, &c.

CHAP.
LXVII.

1831.

fidence in his ministry,' doubtless had a strong effect in preserving the general peace of the country : still, as the year advanced, the spirit of insubordination seemed to increase : at Croydon, the archbishop of Canterbury was grossly insulted, while presiding over a meeting of the society for the propagation of the Gospel ; in Somersetshire, the bishop of the diocese was rudely attacked, when engaged in the solemn ceremony of consecrating a new church ; and several other obnoxious prelates were burned in effigy : these, however, were but trifles, compared with the devastation committed at Bristol, when its recorder, Sir Charles Wetherell, who had been the most furious opposer of reform in the house of commons, arrived there on the twenty-ninth of October, to discharge his official duties. Sir Charles, who had been received on his road from Bath with the execrations of an immense multitude, was attacked by so violent a mob at the Mansion-house, after he had opened his commission, that he was soon compelled to seek for safety by flight and in disguise : this, however, did not stop the outrages of the populace, indignant against the tory magistrates of their corporation, and unrestrained by the military force present, through the weak and vacillating conduct of its commander. Accordingly, the prisons, the episcopal palace, the Mansion-house, the Custom-house, the Excise-office, with great part of Queen's-square, fell a sacrifice to the flames ; also a large number of warehouses, many of which were filled with wine and spirits, shared in the conflagration ; and Bristol presented a scene which could not have been exceeded by that which London exhibited during the riots of 1780. The soldiers, who had been sent out of the city, were now at length remanded ; the magistrates called out the *posse comitatus* ; and as parties of cavalry, infantry, and artillery arrived, tranquillity was partially restored : the total number of killed and wounded, that were known, amounted nearly to 100 ; but about 200 were taken prisoners during the out-

rages, and several were afterwards captured with plundered property in their possession : almost two months, however, elapsed before a special commission was appointed to try the offenders ; when eighty-one were convicted, and five left for execution ; but four only suffered the extremity of the law. A military court of inquiry having been instituted on the conduct of the officers commanding at Bristol, the result was the appointment of a court-martial on colonel Brereton ; but when it had sat four days, its proceedings were cut short by the death of the prisoner ; who, being overcome by his feelings, and the weight of evidence against him, shot himself through the heart. Another court-martial followed, on captain Warrington, senior officer of the third dragoon guards ; whose defence for his neglect in suppressing the riots and preserving the buildings rested mainly on the want of directions from colonel Brereton, and of assistance from the city magistrates ; the head of whom purposely concealed himself when his presence was most needed ; whilst all the aldermen excused themselves for not accompanying the soldiers, by their inability to ride on horseback. General Sir Charles Dalbiac, the crown prosecutor, laid down, on this occasion, the following doctrine as a fundamental principle of the common law :—‘ that if the occasion demands immediate action, and no opportunity is given for procuring the advice or sanction of a magistrate, it is the duty of every subject to act on his own responsibility, in suppressing a riotous and tumultuous assembly ; and whatever may be done by him honestly, in the execution of that object, he will be justified and supported by the common law : that law acknowledges no distinction between the private citizen and the soldier, who is still a citizen, lying under the same obligation, and invested with the same authority to preserve the king’s peace, as any other subject.’ This was the doctrine of the great lord Mansfield, and it was now confirmed by the authority of lord chief-justice Tindal : yet it was vehe-

mently attacked in the public prints as unconstitutional, and dangerous to the liberty of the subject!

CHAP.
LXVII.

1831.

About the time when such disgraceful scenes were passing at Bristol, some partial disturbances broke out at Bath, Coventry, and Worcester; but these, being vigorously opposed by the municipal and military powers, were speedily put down, without bloodshed, or any material destruction of property: in consequence, however, a proclamation was issued by his majesty in council, on the second of November, exhorting all classes of his subjects to unite in suppressing tumults: but, as the winter advanced, the alarm of the executive government increased; and apprehensions were entertained, lest the peace of the country should be seriously endangered by formidable associations, especially those in London, Birmingham, and Manchester; which began not only to use the most daring language, but to appoint councils and officers, and to assume a regular plan of organisation. The rapid increase of these unions, and the extreme boldness of their proceedings, having at length made it necessary that some steps should be taken to lay them under restraint, the Gazette of the twenty-second of November contained a proclamation, declaring their illegality, and warning all subjects of the realm against entering into such combinations. During this time, Ireland continued in a most distracted state; and associations were promoted by Mr. O'Connell for the repeal of the union; until at length the magistrates dispersed one of his meetings, and apprehended the great agitator and his coadjutors for illegal acts. True bills being found against them by the grand jury, Mr. O'Connell put in a demurrer; but withdrew it, and pleaded Not Guilty: after several attempts to delay the trial, he withdrew that plea also; and pleaded guilty to the first fourteen counts in the indictment, respecting the holding of meetings in contempt of proclamations: many were the discussions in parliament; whether government had made any compromise

with the agitators, since none of them were brought up for judgment; but there is no reason to suppose that such was the case, in opposition to the denial of ministers: that they were not so brought up, is sufficiently accounted for by the state both of England and Ireland. In the latter country, the most dreadful disturbances still continued, until the insurrection act was enforced by proclamation in several counties, and a special commission sent to try offenders: the refusal to pay tithes now became general; and many frightful collisions occurred between the peasantry, and the authorities which endeavored to repress their outrages.

CHAP.
LXVII.

1831.

Ravages of
the cholera.

Contemporaneously with the tumultuous proceedings above described, the nation was this year visited by the Asiatic cholera; which frightful malady, first appearing in 1817 on the banks of the Ganges, gradually advanced to the northern shores of Great Britain, and reached them in the month of October: before the close of the year, it found its way from Sunderland and Newcastle to the suburbs of the metropolis; where, for a time, its outrages were generally confined to the victims of intemperance: but it soon began to attack patients of all descriptions, and to spread from the capital into the provinces; so that scarcely any part of the empire escaped this dreadful scourge: its inflictions, however, by reason probably of the habits of the people and the nature of the climate, were less violent than in any other nation which it visited. A board of health was established, which made a daily report of cases, but was remarkable for the variety of opinions which it elicited from medical practitioners; the main points controverted being, whether the disease was contagious or not—whether it was the Indian cholera, or a new complaint—whether imported, or indigenous—whether it partook of the properties of the plague, or was to be regarded as a transient scourge. The ratio of deaths was found to be about one to three; but the remarkable freedom of some places from this evil, in the neighborhood of its

CHAP.
LXVII.

1831.
Foreign
affairs.

ravages, occasioned many to conceive that its propagation was extended by currents in the air.

In France also this year was distinguished by tumults; especially at Lyons, where disturbances among the workmen advanced to such a height, that the duke of Orleans, with a large military force, was despatched thither, accompanied by marshal Soult, war minister, who was invested with extraordinary powers to quell the revolt. In the Netherlands, after prince Leopold had accepted the crown, Holland declared the existing armistice at an end: a Dutch army entered Belgium, and routed Leopold's troops at Hasselt and Louvain; which latter city it captured, but was obliged to retire before a large French force which arrived at Brussels. These marches of the Dutch and French armies became a subject of debate, in consequence of which the French troops were recalled: another set of articles was then framed by the conference, which declared that the acceptance of them should be compulsory: they were readily accepted by Belgium, but rejected by Holland, whose offers to negotiate were in turn rejected; after which, a treaty was signed between the five powers and Leopold, who was recognised by them as king of Belgium: against this instrument the Dutch plenipotentiaries protested, feeling a certainty of being secretly backed in their pretensions by some of the contracting powers, and supported by a strong party, even in Great Britain; nor were they deceived in their expectations.

In Spain insurrections were followed by defeats, arrests, and executions; while the hopes of the Portuguese constitutionalists revived in the return of Don Pedro to Europe, and his preparations for a descent on Portugal. In Parma, Modena, and the papal states, insurrections were put down by Austrian interference, and every species of cruelty was put in practice by the old governments when restored. Greece, for whose pacification the powers of Europe had labored so long, was now the scene of a civil

war : the popularity of the president Capo d'Istria, either from his too great attachment to Russian interests, or from the jealousy and discontent of the chiefs, unused to control and eager for power, had rapidly declined : he became suspicious and tyrannical ; inflicted arbitrary punishments more like the despotic deputy of Russia, than the elected head of a free state ; and, before the year closed, lost his life by assassination. But of all people, the fate of the Poles was most calculated to excite commiseration : driven to insurrection by the faithless and tyrannical conduct of Nicholas, betrayed by France, deserted by England, and persecuted in their low estate by Austria and Prussia, they fell after an heroic struggle : Warsaw was taken, and the Polish armies disbanded ; their nobles were degraded, and thousands of every rank, age, and sex subjected to the most cruel punishments ; while their nationality was destroyed, as far as human ingenuity could destroy it, for ever.

CHAP.
LXVII.

1831.

The British parliament did not re-assemble till the sixth of December, when the king went in state to the house of peers, and delivered an elaborate speech, in the course of which he recommended to them 'a speedy and satisfactory settlement of the reform question, which became daily of more pressing importance to the security of the state, as well as to the contentment and welfare of the people.' But to effect this, a new bill became necessary, which was accordingly introduced on the twelfth of the same month by lord John Russell, with some improvements both in the process of disfranchisement and in the qualification of electors ; while an objection, which had been previously raised against the population census of 1821, was obviated by that of the present year being adopted.¹² The new bill was again subjected to a fiery ordeal : its demo-

Meeting
of parlia-
ment.

New re-
form bill.

¹² In 1821, the population of England was 11,261,437 ; of Wales, 717,438 ; of Scotland, 2,093,456 : in 1831, England, 13,089,338 ; Wales, 805,236 ; Scotland, 2,365,807. Summary of Great Britain, in 1821, 14,391,631 ; in 1831, 16,537,398 ; being an increase of fifteen per cent.

CHAP.
LXVII.

1831.

cratic influence was strongly condemned, and an amendment was moved by lord Porchester, seconded by Sir Edward Sugden, who started a frivolous objection unworthy of his high and deserved reputation. 'On that part of the bill regulating the right of voting in boroughs and cities,' he observed, 'there must be an annual valuation of every house in England, which would furnish an excellent trade to surveyors; since there was nothing more changeable in value than this sort of property.' After urging several other technical frivolities of the same kind, without attacking the grand principle of the measure, he remarked, that its true title was—'a bill to encourage the growth of ten pound houses in England.' Mr. Macauley, however, entered into an elaborate defence of the plan, without noticing the particular objections made against its details; and concluded with a bold declaration,—that, 'by fair means or foul, either through parliament or over parliament, the question of reform must be carried: therefore,' said he, 'throw open the gates to an enemy, that can force an entrance through the breach: show that the constitution, though not exempt from the defects which time must produce in every human work, possesses within itself the power of self-reparation; and let that end, which was sought too often by a savage revolution, be gained by a peaceful and tranquil reform.' Mr. Croker made a desultory harangue, for the purpose of attacking ministers on the subject of the late disturbances, and the dangers still menacing the kingdom, all of which he attributed to their conduct; calling them 'the servants of a faction whom they dared not to disobey.' In reply, lord Althorp said, 'it was idle to assert that this bill was the first link in a chain of disturbance: clamor had existed long ago, and had constantly increased, until it was raised to an irrepressible height by the declaration of the late administration.' An adjournment took place to the following evening; when, after explanations by the noble mover, and a vindication both of the ori-

ginal measure and its subsequent alterations by Mr. Stanley, together with an harangue in a mingled strain of argument and sarcasm by Sir C. Wetherell, and a solemn protest from Sir R. Peel against so great and precipitate an alteration of the best constitution recorded in history;—a division took place at half-past one on Sunday morning, when there appeared, for the second reading of the bill 324, and against it 162; the majority in favor of ministers being just two to one: the house then adjourned to the seventeenth of January following.

CHAP.
LXVII.

1831.

Thus stood this great political question, with a certain prospect of success in the commons, though various opinions were formed respecting its treatment by the lords: meanwhile, public journals and political associations loudly demanded an immediate increase of the peerage, in order to force the bill through the upper house; and though, at any other time, and under any other circumstances, the very suggestion of such a measure would have raised a violent outcry, in the present case both the king and his ministers were exposed to severe attacks for delaying to gratify the popular wish.

When parliament met on the seventeenth of January, ministers expressed an intention of going into committee on the reform bill on the twentieth; which proposition was resisted by Mr. Croker and Mr. Goulburn, as bringing the house into a consideration of details, before they had received that information, without which no proper judgment could be formed: lord John Russell, however, and lord Althorp would not consent to any delay; and the bill was accordingly pushed into committee, where its details were attacked by Mr. Croker, Sir R. Peel, Sir R. Vyvyan, and many others, with as much hostility as they had shown to the general plan: in particular, the clause which proposed to confer eight additional members on the metropolitan districts, met with violent opposition. The marquis of Chandos, after contending that to extend the elective franchise in that quarter would lead

CHAP.
LXVII.

1832.

to great excitement, and give to the capital a preponderating influence over the rest of the country, moved an amendment against the clause ; in favor of which there appeared 236 votes in a house of 552 members ; leaving a majority for ministers of eighty.

It would be a tedious task to pursue the progress of this bill through the commons : it got out of committee about the middle of March ; and on the nineteenth of that month lord J. Russell moved the third reading : this being opposed by lord Mahon, who proposed, as an amendment, that the bill be read that day six months, a warm debate ensued, which was continued on the twentieth and twenty-second : the arguments used were the same which had been so often repeated in the house ; and several members declared, that although the measure had not come out of the committee with all the improvements which they had desired and expected, they would still vote for the third reading, because they believed that a rejection of the bill would now produce greater mischief than any which could arise from its provisions : the division gave to ministers a clear majority of 116 in a house of 594 members. On the twenty-third, the bill was passed ; an amendment, which went to raise the qualification to twenty pounds in Liverpool, and all new boroughs returning two members, having been negatived without a division.

Reform
bill passed
by the
commons.

On Monday, March the twenty-sixth, the reform bill was carried to the upper house by lords Russell and Althorp, accompanied by an unusual number of members ; when the chancellor, who announced to their lordships the message of the commons, immediately read the title of the bill with peculiar emphasis. The most important part of its reception consisted in the speeches of lords Harrowby and Wharncliffe, who had led the opposition last session, and now announced their intention to vote for the second reading ; induced probably to take this course by a desire to save the respectability of their house from the intrusion of a band of political

agents, formed into peers, to serve a temporary purpose: the bishop of London also was so impressed with the dangers hanging over the country, that he resolved to follow this example, to the astonishment of the duke of Wellington and the marquis of Londonderry, who declared their opinions to be unchanged, and their hostility undiminished. Previously to the second reading, the duke of Buckingham gave notice, that if there should be, as he trusted there would be, a majority against it, he would bring in, after the Easter recess, a bill for the purpose of giving members to large towns, whose importance intitled them to representation; also joining and consolidating certain boroughs, each of which now returned two members to parliament, in order to make room for the new representatives, and prevent any man from being deprived of his existing rights; whilst a third provision would be to extend the elective franchise, so as to prevent its abuse in boroughs: in proof of the sincerity of his intentions, his grace moved the insertion of this notice on the journals of the house.

At six o'clock, earl Grey rose to move the second reading of the ministerial bill, which he did in a speech courteous and conciliatory, though not destitute of firmness. After briefly mentioning its important nature, its interesting object, the large majority that had sent it up, and the unequivocal support it had received from the people, he adverted to the duke of Buckingham's notice of motion: this, he said, relieved him from the necessity of defending the principle of his own bill; for it appeared now to be universally conceded: he was not called on to except even the duke of Wellington, since his grace's last declaration on the subject admitted that some degree of reform was necessary. The noble earl then proceeded to notice the alterations introduced into the bill, defended the ten pound qualification from some objections that had been raised against it, and concluded with an affecting appeal to their lordships on the unjust attacks

CHAP.
LXVII.

1832.

Debates on
the reform
bill in the
lords.

CHAP.
LXVII.

1832.

made on him, for having proposed a measure, which in his opinion was required by that duty which he owed to his sovereign and the country; a measure, now generally admitted, in its principle, as necessary; while the only difference existing regarded its extent. Disclaiming all notion of advising their lordships to yield to intimidation, he could not help calling their attention to the awful silence on the part of the people now prevailing, and taking place of that outcry which first marked the progress of the bill: silence might perhaps lead some to imagine that they were not viewing this measure with the same feelings of interest; but he cautioned their lordships against forming such an opinion: 'for,' said he, 'though the people are silent, they are looking at our proceedings this night no less intensely than they have looked ever since the question was first agitated. I know that it is pretended by many, that the nation has no confidence in the peers; because there is an opinion out of doors, that the interests of the aristocracy are separated from those of the people: on the part of this house, however, I disclaim all such separation of interests; and therefore I am willing to believe, that the silence, of which I have spoken, is the fruit of a latent hope still existing in their bosoms.'

Lord Ellenborough then rose; and, after a vehement attack on the whole bill, moved, as an amendment, 'that it be read a second time that day six months.' This gave rise to a very animated debate; which, being adjourned to the next day, was reopened by the earl of Shrewsbury; who declared himself at a loss to know from what evils the constitution, of which some persons appeared so enamored; had saved the country: we had had expensive wars; we had £800,000,000 of debt; we had had rebellion and revolution, with great and frequent commercial embarrassments; and we now saw the strange picture of an intelligent, active population, idle and starving in the midst of abundance. The only way to test the value of the constitution, was to adopt a measure

which would give its merits fair play : by passing the bill before the house, their lordships would restore their connexion with the people, and their power of doing good,—the only power which they ought to covet : they must either consent to right the people, or the people would right themselves. After thus expressing himself respecting the state to which ‘ the rule of a dominant oligarchy had brought the country, and against which the exasperated nation had at length risen,’—his lordship declared, that in all things, that oligarchy had found on the episcopal bench willing coadjutors. ‘ But if the clergy,’ said he, ‘ know their own interest, (and it was generally supposed they are not unskilled in matters of personal concern) they ought to feel the necessity of now coming forward to do their duty by the country : hitherto they had shown themselves too often the greatest enemies of the people ; willing agents of the worst system of tyranny ; ready abettors of, and participators in, the vilest acts of extravagance, spoliation, and corruption : now was the time for them to make some compensation to the people for long years of contumely and wrong.’ After several observations on the more dignified attitude which the adversaries of the bill would take by boldly opposing it *in limine*, than by stooping to the subtle and desultory warfare which they were about to commence, the noble earl declared, ‘ that he would not mince matters ; that if the house of commons needed reform, so did the house of peers, to prevent the danger of continual collision, and to secure that unity of action, which was essential to the right management of the national affairs.’

Few addresses occasioned a greater ferment in the house than this, in which the earl of Limerick saw the early fruits of catholic emancipation : little did he expect so soon to find one of the first catholic peers in the realm pronouncing a philippic, not only against the existence of that house, but against every thing which had existed for the last century. The earl of Mansfield and the duke of Wellington repro-

CHAP.
LXVII.

1832.

bated the bill in the most unmeasured terms ; and not the bill only, but 'the waverers' also ; who were accused of deserting their banners by voting for a second reading : but lords Harrowby and Wharncliffe ably defended themselves on this point, and a second adjournment took place.

The earl of Winchelsea, in opening the debate next day, spoke with great indignation against a creation of peers ; declaring that if such a measure were adopted, he would no longer sit in the house, but would retire, and 'bide his time, till the return of those good days, which would enable him to vindicate the insulted laws of his country, by bringing an unconstitutional minister before the bar of his peers.' He was followed by the duke of Buckingham, who asserted, 'that the pestilence of the cholera was nothing in comparison with the contamination to which this bill would subject the constitution.' It was also opposed by the earl of Falmouth, the marquis of Bristol, and the bishops of Lincoln and Exeter ; who were answered by the lords Radnor and Lansdowne, as well as by the bishops of London and Llandaff. An adjournment was then moved by lord Kenyon.

The debate on Thursday evening was resumed by lord Wynford ; after whom lord Durham rose, and, in a state of high excitement, gave utterance to what was perhaps the most powerful speech made by any member of either house, in favor of the bill. The excitement alluded to arose from a passage in the bishop of Exeter's speech, where, descanting on the tone and temper of the press, he spoke of certain articles in the Times journal, as, 'breathing the inspiration of the treasury.' After complimenting the learned lord who had spoken last, in having adopted a tone free from party asperity, and rancorous animosity against his majesty's ministers, very different from that of a right reverend prelate who spoke last night ;¹³ he observed ;—'Of that exhibition I shall only say ; that if coarse and virulent invective, malignant and false insinuations, the gross-

¹³ The bishop of Exeter.

est perversion of historical facts, decked out with all the choicest flowers of pamphleteering slang——' Here the noble lord was called to order, and the earl of Winchelsea moved, that the words 'false insinuations,' and 'pamphleteering slang,' should be taken down. After some observations from earl Grey, lord Holland, and the duke of Buckingham, lord Durham went on to state, that he had not the slightest objection to his words being taken down: he would not stop to inquire whether they were the most elegant which he could have used, or quite suitable to the noble earl's taste; but they were the only words which could describe correctly the right reverend prelate's speech. 'With regard to retracting them,' he said, 'in obedience to the noble duke, I must observe, that, from the terms in which the right reverend prelate couched his insinuations, I could have no doubt that he alluded to me; since the same charge has been made in those weekly publications, which are notorious for scurrility and indecency: when therefore I found the charge repeated in this house, in terms which could not be misunderstood, I determined to take the earliest opportunity of stating to your lordships, that it was as false as scandalous: I now repeat that declaration; and I pause, to give any noble lord the opportunity of taking down my words.'

CHAP.
LXVII.

1832.

Lord Durham then resumed his seat for a moment; but as no one rose, he proceeded to observe, that, as it appeared that no farther interruption was to be offered him, he would dismiss the subject; while he trusted, that, if he had expressed himself with too much warmth, their lordships would reflect, that to all the tortures of a mind afflicted by domestic loss, had been of late superadded calumnies of the basest description; calculated to wound, not only his own feelings, but those of all most dear to him. Returning, however, to the question, he asserted, that the supporters of the bill had been charged by a noble duke and earl, (Wellington and Mansfield) with having created an excitement in the public mind which led to that general demand for reform,

CHAP.
LXVII.

1832.

now admitted to prevail by many who formerly denied its existence. 'On what facts,' he said, 'these noble lords found their assertions, I cannot comprehend: if there be any subject, which, more than others, has been discussed, both in and out of parliament, especially within the last fifty years, it is that of a reform in the representation of the people: ever since the revolution it has been advocated by the most eminent men which this country can boast: from the year 1783, when the celebrated Yorkshire petition was presented, it has never been lost sight of by the people; though taken up with more or less energy, according to the circumstances of the times.' His lordship then enumerated the distinguished characters who had patronised this measure; and declared, that the noble and gallant duke was not supported by facts, in saying that the feeling was one of late growth; still less, when he ascribed it to the examples of recent revolutions in France and Belgium. That it had assumed a much more formidable appearance within the last four or five years, he (lord Durham) did not deny; but this was owing, in a great measure, to repeated refusals by their lordships to grant elective privileges to the large towns of Leeds, Manchester, and Birmingham, when fitting opportunities presented themselves; it had arisen also from the exposures which had taken place through parliamentary inquiries relative to Gram-pound, Penryn, and East Retford, laying bare scenes of the grossest political profligacy and corruption: but above all, it had proceeded from that great multitude, the middle classes, having identified themselves with this question;—classes, whose emancipation alone would account for the intensity of feeling with which the measure had been received; while it demonstrated the improbability of the country being satisfied with less reform than that afforded by the bill.

His lordship then proceeded to show, that, up to the revolution of 1688, the object of each successive struggle had been to prevent the sovereign from obtaining despotic power. At that period the crown was defeated, and has ever since been dependent on,

and at the mercy of, two parties among the higher orders: between them the contest for political power has been bitter and incessant; while the country was well or ill governed, according to the principles of that party which predominated: for a long time the people acquiesced in the supremacy of the higher orders, and their exclusive possession of political privileges; but within the last fifty years a great change had taken place in the state of society, whose two extremes had been gradually meeting; the one standing still, while the other was gradually approaching it, and rendering itself competent to the discharge of higher duties. Thus the people became naturally desirous of political privileges; and the result of their continued exclusion must be a political convulsion, necessarily a destructive one; as it would arise from the unnatural compression of great power by insufficient means.

His lordship next went into the question of the right or propriety, with which the middle classes claimed such privileges; in opposition to the noble duke, who had described them as paupers or beggars: so far from this, their wealth doubled or trebled that of the higher orders; and, as for their intelligence, he directed attention to the great commercial towns, with their literary societies, scientific institutions, and all other associations, tending to the advancement of the human race: by the example and purse of the middle classes were these supported and maintained; while the gentry, living apart, enjoyed merely the amusements and luxuries peculiar to their own order; so that, whenever they were brought together on public occasions, their superiority in learning or intellect was no longer manifest.

Such being the case, his lordship asked, whether that was a fit and proper state of the constitution, which excluded from the enjoyment of political privileges and power, a large body of men, possessed of talents, skill, and wealth, merely because

CHAP.
LXVII.

1832.

they did not happen to be included in a particular class, endowed with privileges granted in different times and different circumstances? Again, did the working of the constitution, in its present exclusive state, produce no other mischievous effects, beside their exclusion? Did those persons who virtually represented them perform the duties of their trust advantageously for the country? The answer of the people had always been in the negative; and for the correctness of that assertion, his lordship declared, that he could accumulate proofs on proofs; but a few would suffice. When this corrupt parliamentary system first came into operation, after the revolution, the national debt amounted to £16,000,000: at the end of the last war it reached near £800,000,000! while the national expenditure had, during that time, increased from £5,500,000 to more than £94,000,000; and the poor-rates from £1,000,000 to £7,000,000. In a single reign only, that of George III. £27,000,000 had been lavished in subsidies to the great continental powers; and in that same period our naval and military expenditure amounted to £928,000,000: so that the luxury of indulging in war cost this country a sum little short of one thousand millions.

All these proofs of unlimited and unchecked expenditure, with many others, became known to the people at the end of the war: great distress followed; much discontent and loud complaints prevailed: and how were they met? By conciliation or concession? No, truly; but by every species of repressive and coercive enactment. Measures to prevent public meetings for petition, to fetter the press, to suspend the habeas corpus act, and to grant indemnity bills, were proposed and adopted by the house of commons. 'Those proceedings,' said his lordship, 'seem, if I may judge from their cheers, to be approved by the noble lords opposite: they were not, however, I can assure them, grateful to the people; who, seeing their liberties attacked, and their resources squandered, through the instru-

mentality of a house which was theoretically the guardians of them, naturally turned their attention to the mode of electing that house, which neither represented their feelings nor protected their interests. The picture then presented to view was no less startling and disgusting, than that of the state of our finances, which I have just alluded to : they found one portion nominated by peers ; a second, by commoners ; a third, by trafficking attorneys, selling seats to the highest bidder ; a fourth, indebted for its return to the most unblushing bribery and corruption : in one part of the empire, a park, with no population, or at least one of the smallest kind, returning two members ; in another, a town inhabited by hundreds of thousands, yet without any representation at all ; and even that small part of the house which was still dependent on the public voice, so fettered and circumscribed by the immense expenditure required, as to be virtually placed in the hands of a very small class. My lords, all this led to a state of things which has been so prophetically and accurately described by a celebrated writer, whose opinions are generally pleasing to noble lords, that I make no apology for substituting his glowing words for my feeble expressions : this led, to use the language of Mr. Burke, to ‘ an addressing house of commons, and a petitioning nation ; a house full of confidence, when the nation was plunged in despair ; in full harmony with ministers, whom the people regarded with abhorrence ; which voted thanks, when public opinion called on them for retrenchment ; eager to grant, when the general voice demanded account ; which, in all disputes between the people and the administration, presumed against the people, and punished their disorders, but refused to inquire into the provocations given them : this led to so unnatural and monstrous a state of things ; to an assembly, which may be a great, and wise, and awful senate ; but not to any popular purpose a house of commons.’ ”

CHAP.
LXVII.

1832.

Lord Durham concluded this able and spirited address, by stating his opinion, that he had shown sufficient reasons for the prevalent desire of reform, without ascribing its origin to ministerial instigation, or to those French and Belgian revolutions, which haunted the imagination of the noble and gallant duke opposite: he also asserted that the British revolution of 1641, the French revolution of 1793, and the loss of our American colonies, might all have been averted by wise and timely concession: after investigating these positions, he asked noble lords, who talked of resistance, whether they had calculated the comparative amount of force arrayed on each side? on one, the crown, the house of commons, and the people; on the other, about 200 peers: he then warned them of the danger which they might incur from excommunication by their fellow-countrymen; asking, whether they were prepared to live solitary in the midst of multitudes; their mansions fortified with cannon, (as was lately that of the duke of Newcastle) and protected by troops, perhaps of faithful, but in the hour of danger, useless retainers? 'Surely,' said he, 'there must be something in this state of things most revolting to the habits and feelings of a British peer; yet these are the most favorable circumstances which can follow the rejection of the bill.' After contrasting the change between confidence and distrust, affection and hatred, and predicting the little advantage or consolation they would find in the temporary preservation of nomination boroughs, coupled with the dislike and aversion of their fellow citizens, his lordship declared, it was under a conviction that the claims of the people were not to be trifled with, that he and his colleagues came to the resolution of framing such a measure, as might not only give general satisfaction, but set the question intirely at rest.

He was followed by the earl of Carnarvon, lords Eldon, Tenterden, and Lyndhurst, against the bill, as well as by the bishops of Rochester and Gloucester; the latter of whom took occasion to animad-

vert, with pointed, but just severity, on the attack which had been made by the catholic earl of Shrewsbury on the ecclesiastical bench. 'He has invited us,' said the right reverend prelate, 'to vote for the bill, because it will conduce to our own advantage; adding, that the clergy were specially noted for an attention to their interests. If he meant, as I suppose he did, our own private and personal interests, I reject the imputation with unutterable scorn: if he meant our regard for the interests of the church, then the clergy had, on this question, no interest distinct from the general weal.' With regard to the charges of profligacy in their political conduct, made against the bishops, as 'abettors of tyranny and oppression,' 'willing instruments of rapine and extortion,' he called on the noble earl, in the face of the house and of the country, either to abandon or to make them good. 'If he refuses,' said his lordship, 'to accept one of these alternatives, his long line of ancestry will not save him from disgrace. The schemes of oppression by James II., our last tyrant, no doubt had abettors: who they were I shall not say; but at all events, they were not protestant bishops: the first resistance made to that tyrant was among the clergy of the church of England, who opposed his oppressive system at the risk of liberty and life. Though I wish not to detract from the glory of the ancestors of noble lords in this house, who joined in the expulsion of the tyrant; yet I can appeal to history in proof of the fact,—that but for the resistance of the protestant clergy throughout this country, the efforts of those distinguished persons might have failed; and the house of Brunswick, to which we owe our liberties, might have moved but little beyond a German principality.' After lord Goderich and the chancellor had each spoken in favor of the bill, earl Grey commenced his reply at five o'clock on Friday morning; in the course of which he noticed with great severity an attack made on him by the bishop of Exeter. 'The right reverend prelate,' said he,

CHAP.
LXVII.

1832.

'threw out insinuations about my ambition : let me tell him calmly, that the pulses of ambition may beat as strongly under sleeves of lawn, as under an ordinary habit.' Before he concluded, he would take leave to say one word on a question which had been frequently discussed out of doors, and in which he was in some degree personally concerned ;—he alluded to the probable creation of peers : all the best constitutional writers admitted, that although the creation of a large number of peers, for a particular object, was a measure which should rarely be resorted to ; yet, in some cases, such as to avoid a collision between the two houses, it might be absolutely necessary. It was true, that he had been, for many reasons, exceedingly averse to such a scheme ; but he believed it would be found, that in a case of necessity, like that which he had stated, a creation of peers would be perfectly justifiable, and in accordance with the most acknowledged principles of our constitution : more than this he would not say at the present moment. After a short explanation from lord Carnarvon and the bishop of Exeter, the house divided ; when the absolute majority for ministers was only nine ; and the bill, having been read a second time, was ordered to be committed on the first day after the recess.

The lords broke up for the Easter holidays on the seventeenth of April, and the commons the day following : but on the sixteenth, the duke of Wellington thought proper to enter on the journals a protest against the second reading of the bill, which embodied all the objections urged against the measure ; more especially its violation of chartered rights, and its introduction of an exorbitant degree of democratic influence into the constitution : this was signed by seventy-four other peers, including the dukes of Cumberland and Gloucester, with six prelates ; but not by lord Lyndhurst.

Disturbed
state of the
nation.

Parliament stood adjourned to the seventh of May ; and the interval was a period memorable in

our annals. The associations and political unions throughout the kingdom were instantly on the alert, being tremblingly alive for the fate of the bill, on account of the small majority by which the second reading was carried. The people of Leeds were first in the field, and called a meeting on the nineteenth of April; when a number of able speeches were delivered, and an energetic address was voted to his majesty, whom they designated as 'their sheet-anchor—their refuge in the storm:' the last necessity was said to be at hand, and a creation of peers was earnestly implored. At Birmingham, a special meeting of its political union was held on the twenty-seventh, Thomas Attwood, Esq. in the chair; when a series of resolutions was agreed to; in consequence of which, a general meeting of all the associations from surrounding districts in the counties of Warwick, Worcester, and Stafford, was convened, on the seventh of May, at the foot of Newhall-hill; forming such an assemblage as perhaps this country never before witnessed. The grand northern division alone was estimated at near 100,000 people; its procession extending four miles, with 150 banners and eleven bands of music: upwards of 200 bands were in attendance, and more than 700 banners waved over the assembled throng. At half past twelve the commencement of proceedings was announced by the sound of a bugle; and after many energetic speeches, a petition to the house of lords was carried, 'imploring them not to drive to despair a high-minded, generous, and fearless people; nor to urge them on, by a rejection of their claims, to demands of a much more extensive nature; but rather to pass the reform bill into a law, unimpaired in any of its great parts and provisions; more especially uninjured in the clauses relating to the ten pound franchise.'

The council of the Birmingham Union now declared its sittings permanent, until the fate of the bill should be decided. Similar meetings were held, about the same time, at Liverpool, Manchester,

CHAP.
LXVII.

1832.

Sheffield, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Paisley, Dundee, &c. as well as throughout the south of England; at all of which, resolutions were passed, expressing unabated confidence in earl Grey and his colleagues; while petitions were drawn up to the king and the house of lords, beseeching them to pass the bill unmutated. The meeting at Edinburgh is said to have consisted of 50,000 persons, being held in the king's park, near Holyrood-house; from the windows of which the exiled sovereign of France might have witnessed another specimen of the working of that spirit, which he had vainly attempted to extinguish.

Re-assem-
bling of
parliament.

In the metropolis an extraordinary assembly of members of the National Union took place, on the third of May, Joseph Hume, Esq. in the chair; when various resolutions were agreed to, all urging the necessity of the bill being passed without alteration; while a petition to the house of lords stated, that in case of its mutilation or rejection, 'there was reason to expect that the payment of taxes would cease; that other obligations of society would be disregarded; and that the ultimate consequence might be the utter extinction of the privileged orders.' Such was the position of the country, when parliament re-assembled on the seventh of May; and the house of lords went into committee on that bill which had created so extraordinary a sensation.

The anti-reformers lost no time in unmasking their batteries, after lord Grey had first moved the adoption of the disfranchising clause, relating to schedule A, proposing that the number fifty-six should not be specified, but that their lordships should come to a successive vote on each individual borough, as part of the clause: this he thought the best method of obviating objections which had been made to the clause as it now stood. Lord Lyndhurst then rose, and suggested, that it would be still more convenient to postpone all consideration of the first, as well as of the second clause, for the purpose of taking into consideration the boroughs and places to

be enfranchised; a matter, which, in his opinion, ought to be discussed, before they entered on the question of disfranchisement: and this would involve nothing like a prejudgment of those clauses; for the house would reserve itself for the consideration of them, unprejudiced and unfettered, precisely as if they had not been postponed at all: he recommended such a mode of proceeding, because a bill of this kind ought to be essentially a bill of enfranchisement; of which principle disfranchisement ought only to be the consequence. The amendment was supported by lords Harrowby, Wharncliffe, Winchelsea, Ellenborough, the duke of Wellington, &c., on the ground that its object was not to defeat schedules A and B. Several noble lords thought it expedient to enter on a rather suspicious defence of their character for integrity and fair dealing, before it was called in question; but the duke of Newcastle honestly avowed that he supported the amendment, as he would support any other measure likely to frustrate the bill: the manœuvre, however, was quickly seen through, and exposed by the lord chancellor and earl Grey; the former of whom declared, that although a proposal had been made to omit all mention of the number of places to be disfranchised, this had not the slightest connexion with any intention of diminishing the number itself: the latter observed, that nothing could have been better devised to defeat the bill than the proposed amendment, which, if it were carried, he should consider fatal to the whole measure: he well knew, that opposition lords, if they could delay matters until they had silenced the clamors of Manchester and other large places, would venture on the rescue of some of their favorite boroughs; especially as they expected to win over to their side all the scot and lot voters. When the house divided, ministers were left in a minority of thirty-five; the votes for lord Lyndhurst's amendment being 151, and those against it 116; on which, earl Grey moved, that all farther consideration of

CHAP.
LXVII.

1832.

the bill be deferred till Thursday the tenth. Lord Ellenborough, having expressed his regret that ministers should thus interpose delay, took the opportunity of detailing those amendments or mutilations of the bill, which his party, after serious consideration, intended to propose: these consisted in a disfranchisement of 113 boroughs, their privileges to be distributed among other places; a prohibition of persons to vote for counties, in respect of property situated in boroughs; the adoption of a more clear and certain mode of ascertaining the genuineness and value of holdings; and the retention, not only of the ten pound qualification, but that of scot and lot where it already existed. Here was a measure, of which one half, proposed at the time when East Retford was disfranchised, would have kept the tories in power, and satisfied the nation: but lord Grey now felt himself justified in considering it as an insidious proposition, and safe in treating it with scorn; while the people, instead of being divided by the artifice, expressed generally a contempt for its authors.

Implicit reliance being placed on the king's firmness, an immediate creation of peers was confidently expected: on the eighth, ministers came to the unanimous resolution of pressing this measure; and when the cabinet had broken up, earl Grey and the lord chancellor proceeded instantly to Windsor: the king, however, hesitated, on account of the great number requisite, and the danger of such a precedent; nor can there be a doubt, but that the royal mind was perplexed by the reasonings and inflexible opposition of the tory peers; while he stood nearly alone, amidst his own family and court, in countenancing any part of the reform bill. Ministers requested, in the event of his majesty's resolution to reject their advice, to tender their resignation: the king desired till next day to deliberate; and on the morning of Wednesday, it was intimated to them that their resignation had been accepted.

Resigna-
tion of
ministers.

This unlooked-for intelligence roused the whole nation to instant action: it was no sooner announced by the chancellor of the exchequer in the house of commons, than lord Ebrington gave notice of his intention to move an address to the king, on the state of public affairs, next evening; and lord Althorp's proposal, that this motion should be postponed for a short time, to prevent any embarrassment in the formation of a new ministry, met with no acceptance. It became manifest to the friends of the ejected ministers, that nothing could immediately reinstate them but an insuperable obstacle placed in the way of their competitors; and what more difficult to be overcome, than a previous vote of the house of commons, which might tell the latter, that they would accept office in defiance of that branch of the legislature which commanded the public purse? Accordingly, the motion, being submitted to the house, was carried by 288 voices against 208; and an address was presented to the king, expressing deep regret at the change in administration, and great anxiety that the reform bill should pass unmutilated; with an earnest supplication, that his majesty would call such persons only to his councils as consented to promote that object.

CHAP.
LXVII.

1832.

Great masses of the population, eager for reform, were up simultaneously, and in active co-operation with the house of commons: all stood, as it were, prepared for action; the country took an attitude of determined resolution; even other nations looked with intense anxiety to this contest; and the most important interests of mankind appeared to be suspended on its issue. In the metropolis, the National Union met on the very evening of the day which saw the resignation of ministers; 1200 new members enrolled themselves at that meeting, and 2000 more on the morrow: it was unanimously resolved, 'that the betrayal of the people's cause was not attributable to lord Grey or his administration, but to the base and foul treachery of others; that meetings be recommended in every county, town,

CHAP.
LXVII.

1832.

and parish throughout the kingdom ; which, by inducing compliance with the unanimous wishes of the people, may prevent the mischief that would otherwise result from the general indignation ; that a petition be presented to the house of commons, praying the appointment of commissioners to receive the supplies ; and that, until the bill pass, they be not managed by the lords of the treasury.' On Thursday, May the tenth, the common council met at Guildhall, and passed a number of resolutions, expressing their mortification and disappointment at the distressing communication made by ministers, that his majesty had refused to them the means of carrying the reform bill through the house of lords, though passed by a large majority of the commons, and by an overwhelming majority of the people ; declaring, that the advisers of such a refusal had put to hazard the stability of the throne and tranquillity of the country ; petitioning the commons to withhold supplies till such reform bill be carried, and extolling the conduct of earl Grey and his coadjutors : a committee also was appointed to meet daily for the adoption of such measures as might be deemed necessary. Next day, the livery also met, and passed a similar string of resolutions ; adding, however, ' that they viewed with distrust and abhorrence, attempts, at once interested and hypocritical, to delude and mislead the people by pretended plans of reform, promised or proposed by the insidious enemies of all reform.' The speeches at this meeting were made in a daring spirit of resistance to any administration that might attempt to assume the reins of government, without the whole bill ; but more especially were they hostile to the duke of Wellington, who was represented as desirous of governing the country by the sword : his majesty himself was not spared, for yielding to domestic influence, and pressing to his bosom pernicious counsellors ; but the majority of the house of lords was more peculiarly attacked, as men who would mix blood with corruption ; friends of every despotism ; representa-

tives of Miguel and of Ferdinand. of Russian lords and German ladies. On the same day, the electors of Westminster met at the Crown and Anchor tavern, pursuant to notice, for the purpose of 'adopting such measures as the alarming state of the country required : ' Sir Francis Burdett was called to the chair ; and the speakers, excited by the rabid eloquence of Mr. O'Connell, were still more violent than any who had yet come forward at this alarming crisis. Similar meetings were held in Southwark ; also in the parliamentary district of Marylebone, St. Pancras, and Paddington, where a crowd of 20,000 persons were harangued by Mr. Hume, who had been called to the chair ; and a strong address to the king was agreed to.

News of earl Grey's resignation reached Birmingham on the morning of Thursday, May the tenth ; and by eleven o'clock a printed placard was exhibited in many windows, of which the following is a copy :—' Notice—No taxes paid here until the reform bill is passed ! ' In the course of the day, 500 gentlemen, who had hitherto stood aloof, enrolled themselves members of the Union : at four in the afternoon, the inhabitants of the town and vicinity assembled in immense multitudes at Newhall-hill ; and a petition was voted to the house of commons, which, in addition to a prayer that the supplies might be stopped, contained this ominous sentence :—' Your petitioners find it declared in the bill of rights, that the people of England may have arms for their defence, suitable to their condition, and as allowed by law ; and they apprehend, that this great right will be enforced generally, in order that the people may be prepared for any circumstances that may arise.' A deputation was then named for the purpose of carrying their petition to London, and communicating to the common council, and city of Westminster, the determination taken by the counties of Warwick and Stafford to aid them in the common cause.

Manchester received intelligence of earl Grey's

CHAP.
LXVII.

1832.

resignation on Thursday forenoon; and a petition to the commons, to stop the supplies, was that same day signed by 25,000 persons: another was sent on the fourteenth, from Liverpool, by the Reform Union, which met in Clayton-square, viscount Molyneux, son of the earl of Sefton, being in the chair. The news spread rapidly from south to north, exciting in Scotland, as well as in Ireland, the most energetic measures; nor do the annals of this country present a more alarming period than the interval between the ninth and sixteenth of May; the former being the day on which his majesty accepted the resignation of the reform ministry, and the latter that on which it was recalled to office. The tories, who had for some time been encouraged by their success with the king, and at the critical moment had received private intelligence of his altered sentiments, endeavored, by putting the bill out of joint, to get it into their own hands; or to obtain a pretext for representing lord Grey as a pertinacious and impracticable man, stickling for a mere point of form, against the opinion of a majority: it was no part of their plan to drive his lordship from office with the honors of popularity; but rather to exhibit him as an incapable supporter, if not a betrayer, of the cause which he had taken in hand: they also desired leisure to form plans for their own return to power; but were wholly unprepared for the readiness and determination with which the premier comprehended and defeated their plot.

As soon as the king had resolved to accept the resignation of his cabinet, he sent for lord Lyndhurst, desiring that nobleman to obtain the opinion of parties respecting the advice which he had rejected, and also authorising him to adopt measures for the formation of a new ministry: at the same time, he declared, that 'extensive reform' was the express condition on which such a ministry must be based. It was thought somewhat strange that the noble lord should instantly carry the royal message to the duke of Wellington, whose sentiments on the

subject of reform had been so fully and openly declared : but his grace was found willing to make large sacrifices, and encounter any degree of obloquy, in order to extricate his sovereign from embarrassment : he desired no office, much less that of prime minister ; yet, if necessary for the king's service, he was ready to serve in any way that might be thought fit. After some consultation between these noble lords, it was considered advisable to offer the first place to Sir Robert Peel ; but that wary statesman refused the bait : by an ' extensive reform,' he could not but understand all the main principles of the bill ; and it was impossible for him to accept office, when, hostile as he had constantly shown himself to every plan of extensive reform, he felt that he could be of no service to the king or to the country : lord Lyndhurst communicated the nature of his commission to Mr. Baring, lord Carnarvon, and a few other influential persons, who were not unwilling to take subordinate situations ; but no leader was forthcoming. In the mean time, lord Ebrington's motion in the house of commons interposed insurmountable difficulties in the way of negotiations : a new ministry must be sought among the direct opponents of the bill ; office must be accepted in defiance of the lower house ; and the utter hopelessness of any change from a dissolution of parliament was apparent from the determined temper of the people : on Tuesday the fifteenth, therefore, lord Lyndhurst was obliged to inform his majesty, that the commission with which he had been entrusted had failed ; and the king was reduced to the humiliating necessity of renewing his intercourse with the discarded ministers. The same evening, earl Grey announced to the peers, that he had received a communication from his majesty, though of too recent a date to be followed by any decided consequence : both houses adjourned to the seventeenth ; but before the commons separated, a debate had taken place on the presentation of the London petition, which, for boldness of invective,

CHAP.
LXVII.

1832.

and spirit-stirring declamation, was hardly ever surpassed : it turned chiefly on the supposed conduct of the duke of Wellington, and some others, in accepting office under the peculiar circumstances of the period. Immediately before the adjournment, Mr. Baring stated, that all communications with the duke, relative to the formation of a ministry, were at an end ; at the same time, he begged leave to correct a mistake into which some honorable members had fallen, concerning the actual acceptance of office by his grace : matters, he assured them, had never reached that point.

The lords had no sooner met on Thursday, than the duke of Wellington rose, and proceeded to give, what he called an explanation of his conduct during the last ten days ; after which, lord Lyndhurst also entered on his explanation, in which he complained bitterly of being calumniated by the periodical press, which now reigned paramount over the legislature and the country. In allusion to a charge made against him in the other house by Sir Francis Burdett,—that, by obeying the commands of his sovereign, ‘ he had been guilty of a gross dereliction of duty as a judge,’—he denied the assertion : the honorable baronet ought to have known, that, as a judge, he was a member of the privy council ; and not only bound to give his majesty advice when called on, but voluntarily to tender it when he saw the throne or country in peril. Earl Grey said, he would not by one word add to the irritation that prevailed among peers on the opposition benches : it was for them to determine, what sacrifices of former opinions, of repeated declarations, and of recent pledges, they were prepared to make : it was not his wish to impute to them improper motives, to lay down any standard of duty, to impose on them any rule of political consistency or good faith ; but he could not help expressing surprise, that on an occasion like the present, when the house and the public expected a temperate explanation of recent proceedings, in which the noble duke and baron had

been engaged, they should have indulged in violent party invective against the reform bill and ministers. He proceeded to justify his own conduct on the subject of reform, to support which was his only motive for entering on office : he repeated his former assertion,—that reform, to be satisfactory, must be extensive ; and this he thought sufficiently proved by the admission even of its most strenuous opponents : he then entered at large on the motion made by lord Lyndhurst ; as well as the charge of the duke of Wellington,—that ministers had abandoned the king : and after expressing the strongest sense of his majesty's kindness toward him and his colleagues, he concluded by declaring, ' that his continuance in office must depend on his conviction of his own ability to carry into full effect the bill on their lordships' table, unimpaired in principle, and all essential details.' The cheering which followed this speech lasted for a considerable time after his lordship had sat down : many peers then rose in succession to exonerate themselves from the imputation of having participated in the late negotiations with the duke of Wellington and lord Lyndhurst ; after which, the order of the day for the farther consideration of the bill was discharged, and the house adjourned.

CHAP.
LXVII.

1832.

On Friday, May the eighteenth, the re-instatement of earl Grey and his colleagues in their official departments was certified in both houses, when discussions in a very angry tone again took place among the peers ; but this announcement stopped another address to the king in the house of commons, which lord Milton, who had taken a very active part in all the proceedings, was ready to move. The most lively joy appeared to be diffused throughout the kingdom ; for innumerable meetings were instantly convened, and congratulatory addresses drawn up, thanking ministers for their steady fidelity to the cause of the people, and praising their conduct in the most unqualified terms. On Monday, the lords went into committee, when the inverted order of the schedules, taken up at lord Lyndhurst's suggestion,

Re-instate-
ment of
ministers.

CHAP.
LXVII.

1832.

was adopted ; though in a very different spirit from that which was in the mover's mind. Schedule C was voted, up to the Tower Hamlets, at the first sitting : next day, the Tower Hamlets, on which the question of the metropolitan districts depended, was discussed ; but only thirty-six opposition peers were present to vote against ninety-one. On the ground, that, as the bill now stood, the agricultural interest of Lancashire would be utterly helpless, lord Ellenborough wished that county to be divided into three districts, each returning two members ; the two southern divisions would thus be manufacturing, and the northern agricultural : but fifteen voices only were in favor of his proposition, while seventy-five adhered to the bill : in fact, about 100 peers had retired, with the duke of Wellington, from the sittings of the house ; unwilling either to give their assent to the measure, or to force ministers, by continued opposition, into the necessity of adding numbers to the peerage.

Reform bill
passed.

On Monday, the fourth of June, earl Grey moved the third reading of the bill ; when, after a short but spirited struggle, the lord chancellor put the question ; and it did not appear for some moments that the house intended to divide ; but when the premier went on to move, ' that the bill do pass,' lord Roden remarked, that the third reading had not yet been carried : a division therefore took place, and the numbers reported were, content one hundred and six ; non-content twenty-two. After a few verbal amendments had been made, the bill was passed, and ordered back to the commons ; when, the amendments of their lordships having been agreed to on the following day, the royal assent was given to it by commission on the seventh of June. The reform bill for Scotland was brought in by the lord advocate on the twentieth of June ; and having met with little opposition in its progress, received the royal assent on the third of August ; while that for Ireland was introduced about the same time by Mr. Stanley in a very statesman-like speech, in

which he took a review of the measure in all its ramifications, and explained its various bearings. The Irish members clamored for an increase of numbers; but ministers were proof against all their importunities; the whole bill became law on the seventh of August, 1832; and was celebrated by festivals and rejoicings throughout the whole empire.

CHAP.
LXVII.

1832.

Thus was brought to a conclusion an experiment pregnant with the most important consequences; an experiment, indeed, which shook the fabric of the constitution to its very foundation, and which would probably have shattered to pieces any other in the world: in our own there happily exists an extraordinary power of adapting itself to alterations; but all reflecting persons must confess that we have gone to the utmost limit of organic change; and every patriotic reformer must be content with what he has now obtained: universal suffrage, annual parliaments, and vote by ballot, would inevitably plunge us down that gulf, in which so many republics have already perished. At present, we need not despair of safety, while sound sense and good principles pervade the bulk of our community: encouragement also springs up in the mind which considers, that the reform of our constitution arose, not from any sudden impulse or outrageous violence, from civil contests in our streets, or the deposition of a monarch; but from long agitation of the question; from the growth of new interests; and from a fresh distribution of wealth and intelligence: for while our upper ranks reposed in their country mansions, or enjoyed their own exclusive society in the metropolis, the mercantile, manufacturing, and monied classes were advancing with a rapidity which no one could have foreseen; and it is certain that the constitution could not have been maintained without admitting them into its privileges: how indeed could the frame of society shift under our feet, without occasioning a shock in our political institutions? Change indeed was strenuously opposed; but the moderate part

General re-
flections.

CHAP.
LXVII.

1832.

even of those who strove to prevent it, contented themselves with the artifices of delay or discussion, and a dexterous use of that influence which arises from rank, property, and station : it was only a small knot of insane politicians, who thought of preserving every ancient form of the constitution by force, or of altering the succession, and establishing a military despotism, by the aid of Orange associations : opposition however was in vain ; the bill became law ; and every prudent person will now see the necessity of yielding obedience to its enactments. Of all the statesmen who resisted this measure, no one has since entered more fully into its spirit, no one has perceived more clearly the necessity of directing its influence by fair and constitutional means, rather than attempting violently to counteract its object or alter its provisions, than Sir Robert Peel. That acute statesman well knows, that if any institution be altered, not by accident or violence, but by a long series of events giving rise to a general conviction of the necessity of alteration,—it never can be re-established in its previous state : accordingly, he has anxiously endeavored, on various occasions, to prevent unnecessary collisions, and to promote a cordial union between the higher classes, and those into whose hands the principal share of political power has now passed : indeed, without such a union, what shall be found to counteract the schemes of democratic ambition ?

It would be improper to dismiss this subject without noticing the successful efforts made by that estimable and patriotic nobleman, the marquis of Chandos, to protect the landed interests, and to counteract that overwhelming force of democratic influence, which the reform bill appeared likely to infuse into the British constitution. At his suggestion, a clause was introduced, which extended the right of voting in county elections to every tenant, who was *bona fide* an occupier of lands or tenements liable to an annual rent of fifty pounds. This, as well as a similar right granted to possessors

of copyholds of the value of ten pounds per annum, was opposed by several staunch reformers, on the ground of its tendency to convert small counties, or divisions of counties, into a species of nomination boroughs, while it exposed tenants more than ever to the tyranny of landlords: the result however has shown that it was no more than a fair counterpoise to the vast enlargement of town constituencies.

CHAP.
LXVII.

1832.

In the mean time, our whig ministers, well knowing that the people would never remain satisfied with the shadow of reform without its substance, have used the bill, as it was meant, to effect a very extensive but gradual restoration of all institutions, tainted by corruption or dilapidated by time; still endeavoring to combine the maintenance of established rights with the redress of real grievances and acknowledged abuses: their conduct, indeed, cannot be more accurately described, than in the words of a leading reformer among themselves. 'The tories,' lord John Russell observed, 'wished that the bill should remain a toy in the hands of the people, without benefit to themselves or their posterity: I wished to see practical improvements, rather than attempts to square our constitution by abstract theory or foreign example;—to see popular influence control and check the exorbitant and corrupt expenditure of the state, renew or purify our institutions, by clearing away their defects, and restoring their original spirit;—to see the interests of all classes weighed, not by the prejudices and partial affections of those who counterfeited the people's voice, and usurped their inheritance; but by the legitimate representatives of that same people, summoned by the sovereign to uphold a monarchy of which they are the final support, and to be the image of an enlightened nation whose confidence they enjoy.'

CHAPTER LXVIII.

WILLIAM IV. (CONTINUED.)—1832.

General election—State of the continent—Discussion of the slave question—Opening of the first reformed parliament—Bill for the suppression of disturbances in Ireland—Irish church bill—Loan to the clergy of Ireland—Act for the extinction of slavery in the British colonies—Renewal of the Bank charter—Settlement of the East India question—Factory bill—Corporation commission—Foreign politics—Close of the session—Opening of the session of 1834—Joint address of the lords and commons—Divisions in the cabinet—Renewal of Irish coercion bill—Earl Grey resigns, and lord Melbourne is created premier—Rejection of the Irish tithes bill by the peers—Grievances of dissenters—Commutation of tithes—Poor-laws amendment act—Debates on agriculture—Shipping interest—Financial statements—Close of the session—Unpopularity of ministers—Dissolution of the cabinet—Administration of Sir Robert Peel—Dissolution of parliament—General election—Ecclesiastical commission—Meeting of the new parliament—Election of Mr Abercromby as speaker—Defeat of ministers on the address—Orange societies—Malt tax—Dissenters' marriage bill—Irish tithes bill—Defeat of ministers—Resignation of Sir Robert Peel, and recall of lord Melbourne's administration—Conclusion.

General
election.

AFTER the rising of parliament, the great objects of public attention were the registration of the new constituency under the reform bill, and other preparations for a general election, which, it was understood, was to follow, as soon as the registration was completed: this having been quietly effected, parliament, which had been prorogued by commission on the sixteenth of October, was dissolved

on the eighth of December, and the first general election under the new act took place; the writs being made returnable on the twenty-ninth of January, 1833. In regard to the machinery of the bill, it was found to work much more smoothly than its opponents anticipated: even in the most populous places, the polling, when not interrupted by riotous proceedings, was concluded within the two days prescribed by the act; less time and opportunity was allowed for bribery; and the disturbances which used to arise from drunkenness and profligacy now ceased to disgrace our elections. In regard to the candidates, there was a great dislocation of old connexions and previous interests: three parties were in the field; first, the ministerialists; secondly, the tories, who now assumed the appellation of *conservatives*; and, lastly, the radicals, who were desirous of spurring ministers on much farther than they desired to go: these men not only bound themselves by pledges to distinct propositions, as universal suffrage, and vote by ballot; but promised to descend into the minute details of administration, and wage eternal war against what was called the profligate expenditure of government.

The elections generally went in favor of ministerial candidates, or of those who professed adherence to the cause of reform; for in almost all the boroughs success depended on the newly-created electors, who could scarcely refuse their votes to that party, by whose means they had procured their privileges; but in a large proportion of the counties, conservative candidates were returned. In Scotland, the whigs were most successful; for out of fifty-three representatives elected in that portion of the empire, not more than ten or eleven were tories; nor could half that number be accounted radicals: in Ireland, however, ministers could not boast of such decided success; for there agitation was against their cause; Mr. O'Connell having denounced them, even while the reform bill was in progress, as acting with insult

CHAP.
LXVIII.

1832.

CHAP. and injustice towards Ireland in the measure of
LXVIII. change that was meted out to that country.

1832.
State of the
continent.

Before we conclude the annals of this year, it may be observed, that Don Pedro, having landed in Portugal, took possession of Oporto; in which place, after some slight successes, he was shut up by the Miguelites, who bombarded the town, blockaded the Douro, and placed the invader in a critical situation. In the east, a quarrel took place between the sultan and Mahomet Ali Pasha of Egypt, which not only threatened serious consequences to the Turkish empire, but occasioned such interference on the part of Russia, as awakened the jealousy and vigilance of other European powers: toward the end of June, the British public first learned that it was the intention of ministers to despatch the premier's son-in-law on a special mission to Russia; and much confidence was placed in the integrity and talents of lord Durham, for a mitigation of that cruel lot which hung over the unhappy Poles. The subject was brought before the commons during this session by colonel Evans, member for Rye, who moved, though without success, for a resolution demanding the strict performance of treaties entered into by Russia and other European powers, with regard to Poland. In a long and able speech on this question, the gallant officer, adverting to the treaty of 1815, of which the treatment of Poland was so striking an infraction, noticed the general conduct of the Russian government, 'as one series of unjustifiable aggressions on other nations, of territorial aggrandisement, and violations of national law and faith. The war with Persia,' he said, 'and the subsequent war with Turkey, were instances of this unjustifiable aggression; and the result of both was territorial aggrandisement. Russia, as it was well known, was the principal moving power in preventing the establishment of a constitutional government in Naples, Piedmont, and other states of Italy; and it was equally well known,

that chiefly through her influence France sent an unjustifiable expedition to Spain : next came the atrocious case which they were then discussing, on which it was not necessary for him to dwell.' This part of the subject, however, was taken up by that ready and consistent friend of humanity, Sir Francis Burdett, in a speech worthy of the best days of British eloquence : he contended, in opposition to Sir Charles Wetherell, who thought no treaty had been broken by Russia,—that the independence of Poland would have been a much worthier object of English interference, than that of Belgium, about which so much had been said and done.

On all these questions, it must be confessed, that effectual interference in the affairs of other nations is an object of great delicacy as well as difficulty : still, it is a proud boast for Great Britain, that there is one spot within her limits, where the sentiments of freedom and humanity may be spoken loudly enough to reach the ears of a tyrant ; where his atrocities may be openly denounced ; and his barbarities recorded for the detestation of mankind, until their continued perpetration be no longer tolerated.

Another interesting subject, relating to the Germanic states, was brought before the house of commons by Mr. H. L. Bulwer ; who moved for an address to the king, requesting his majesty to exert his influence with the diet, in opposition to the course which that body was then pursuing : in doing this, the honorable member traced an outline of the political history of the Germanic confederacy, from its free government, suited to the genius of the times, to its termination with the victories of Austerlitz and Jena, when the principle of oppressing small states to aggrandise the larger was first avowed and practised. The defeat of Napoleon in his Russian campaign gave to Germany the opportunity of casting off a yoke which had been reluctantly borne : Russia and Prussia then appealed to her former free constitutions, the restoration of which was distinctly

CHAP.
LXVIII.

1832.

promised, when the Germanic states rose *en masse*; and the battle of Leipsic, with the downfall of the French power, speedily followed. By the second article of the congress of Vienna, the promises of Russia and Prussia were respected, and the rights of every class in the nation were solemnly guaranteed, with the sole opposition of Wurtemberg. Having then dwelt at some length on the part taken by this country in these affairs, he came to the late protocol of the diet, the chief object of which was to render the representative bodies of the several states useless, by relieving their despotic princes from every embarrassment which an efficient control by such assemblies might create, and to protect Austria and Prussia against the influential example of popular institutions. 'The sovereigns of those two states,' said Mr. Bulwer, 'are willing to give just so much constitutional liberty to Germany, as will not allow its writers to write, its professors to teach, its chambers to vote taxes, make speeches, or propose resolutions; whilst every state shall be so inviolate, so independent, that, with or without the invitation of its sovereign, a deputation of Austrian or Prussian hussars may be sent to keep it in order.' Then came the question for consideration;—was it politic for England, under such circumstances, to interfere? Our situation, as it appeared to the honorable gentleman, rendered it incumbent on us to express an opinion, at least, in favor of the German people; or we must be thought to take part with their rulers: though he would never recommend a hasty and foolish interference with foreign states; yet he would not consent that England should be a cipher in the political combinations of Europe, looking with indifference on the continent, and thinking that no changes there can possibly affect her: for if there be any one thing more than another which immediately affects British interests, it is the fate of Germany: unite that country under a good government, and it is at once a check on the aggrandisement of France and the ambition of Russia; leave it as it is, and it

becomes a tool in the hands of the one, or a prey to the other. After contrasting the effects of the German armies, acting under Austria and Russia, against France, with those resulting from the real confederation of the people, Mr. Bulwer concluded with his motion for an address; but lord Palmerston, though he complimented the honorable member for his zeal and ability, dissented from his conclusions; and was unwilling to believe, that the governments alluded to would be so impolitic as to put down free constitutions.

A remarkable discussion took place in August at Liverpool; which, of all towns in our empire, was intitled to notorious distinction in the encouragement of the slave trade, and in the large profit which it had drawn from so infamous a traffic: yet a public disputation was held this year in the amphitheatre of that town, and in the presence of more than 8000 persons, respecting the justice and expediency of an early and total abolition of colonial slavery. Mr. Thompson, who was agent of the anti-slavery society in London, laid before his audience the prominent evils of this system, in twenty-six heads; and was replied to by the noted Peter Borthwick, the ostensible organ of the West-India planters, who boldly denied that any of the circumstances, enumerated by his antagonist as evils, were really such, with one exception.¹⁴ This disputation is said to have excited an extraordinary degree of interest among all parties, and to have been listened to with a patience and forbearance highly deserving of commendation: the champion of slavery however was thought to have prejudiced his cause by attempting to defend the most vulnerable points; by which he gave to his opponent an opportunity of exposing in detail all its evils, and creating in the public mind a feeling, which it should have been the especial aim of the West Indian party to avoid;—that of an utter

¹⁴ This was the tearing asunder of the nearest and dearest ties of nature; and the rapid decrease of the slave population, which even Mr. Borthwick allowed was going on at the rate of seven and a half per cent annually.

CHAP.
LXVIII.

1833.

abhorrence of slavery, with a consequent indifference to any claims for compensation, in case of its abolition. The advocates of humanity, however, were highly gratified, by finding the intire system generally condemned in a town, where, only a few years before, it had been most strongly patronised ; and where the highest mercantile classes were intimately connected with its odious details.

A short time before the close of last session, Mr. Manners Sutton had announced his intention of retiring from the arduous duties of speaker, which he had executed with great dignity and honor to himself during sixteen years : an act also had passed, granting him a pension of £4000 per annum, with a reversion of £3000 to his son ; but he had not been advanced to the peerage, although such a mark of honor is usually bestowed on those who have filled the chair of the house for so long a period, and with such distinguished applause : he had been returned one of the members for the university of Cambridge at the general election ; and ministers, having obtained his consent to be put in nomination, resolved to support his pretensions to the office of speaker in the new parliament : they thought that the present constitution of the house rendered the aid of an experienced guide particularly necessary, and that they could gain for themselves the praise of economy ; since the country would only have to pay the salary of a speaker actually filling the chair, instead of being also burdened with the pension of a retired officer : on the other hand, the more violent reformers resolved to oppose the election of Mr. Sutton, on the score of his politics, and to make out that no money would be saved ; as they held that he would be intitled both to his salary and to his pension. When parliament therefore met, on the twenty-ninth of January, Mr. Hume moved, that Mr. Littleton, one of the members for Staffordshire, should occupy the chair ; considering it a matter of the highest importance, that the speaker should concur generally in the political

sentiments entertained by a majority of members : he was seconded in his motion by Mr. O'Connell, who denounced the ministerial plan as 'another instance of paltry truckling,' and protested against this relapse into toryism.

CHAP.
LXVIII.

1833.

On the other side, lord Morpeth moved, and Sir Francis Burdett seconded the motion, that Mr. Mannors Sutton should take the chair ; insisting on the admitted fact of his superior qualification, as well as the candid and impartial conduct which he had observed during the late political struggles : it was also shown by the great law officers of the crown, that he would have no claim to his retiring annuity, together with his salary ; and a division of the house gave to this eminent person a triumphant majority of 241 votes against 31.

On the fifth of February, the first session of the new parliament was opened by the king in person ; who, in his speech, took a comprehensive view of our foreign and domestic relations, in which the affairs of Holland, the approaching termination of the charters of the Bank and the East-India company, the temporalities of the church, and the state of Ireland, were prominently introduced. In the house of lords the address was voted unanimously ; a slight discussion only being elicited by the sentiments of lord Aberdeen and the duke of Wellington, against the foreign policy of government, especially that regarding Portugal and Holland. In the house of commons the case was different ; for a part of the royal speech, which pointed at the adoption of extraordinary measures to repress insubordination prevailing in Ireland, excited violent indignation among a large portion of the Irish members, and produced a furious philippic from Mr. O'Connell ; by whom the address was designated as a 'bloody, brutal, and unconstitutional document.' It was, he said, nothing more than he expected—a declaration of civil war ; such a declaration as this country once put forth against America, though she had reaped from it nothing but

Opening of
reformed
parliament.

CHAP.
LXVIII.

1833.

discomfiture and disgrace : after seven centuries of oppression, there was still to be a call for blood in Ireland. Having gone through a long statement of grievances, Mr. O'Connell declared, ' that all the outrages, which were at the present time perpetrated in Ireland, must be laid at the door of the whigs ; whom he accused of having violated the treaty of Limerick, and of being at all times the bitterest enemies of his country : finally, he called on them to put down the cry already raised for repealing the union, by doing justice to Ireland, and thus showing that a repeal was unnecessary.' This speech was answered by Mr. Stanley, in a strain of caustic severity, which has never been forgiven by the agitators ; and lord Althorp, admitting that it was the duty of parliament to remove from the Irish people every just grievance, and declaring that it was the intention of the present government to do so, as far as lay in their power, justly asked, if it was not a grievance, that neither property nor life was secure in that country ? and, whether this ought not first to be removed ? Many radical members, however, spoke very strongly against all coercion ; declaring, that they would not join ministers in measures that would create a civil war in Ireland : Mr. Bulwer also told them, that the independent representatives of the people in that house, 300 new members, allied to no old party, and attached to no superstitious observance of whig names, could not, night after night, hear grievances stated by the Irish members, which received no other answers except demands for soldiery, without dropping off, in serious defection, from the ministerial majority. The debate was carried on by adjournments four days, to the eighth of February ; when Mr. O'Connell's amendment, for a committee of the whole house on the address, was supported by only 40 votes against 428 : from this period, however, the time of the house became more and more occupied with the complaints of Irish agitators, and the enthusiastic struggles of Mr. O'Connell for justice to

his country, until the regular business of parliament became seriously interrupted : besides all this, the overwhelming quantity of attempted legislation, in consequence of the new constitution of the house of commons, rendered an alteration in the times of sitting absolutely necessary ; so that, on the motion of lord Althorp, it was carried, that the house should meet three days of the week, from twelve to three o'clock, for the transaction of private business ; and two days, for the reception of petitions.

CHAP.
LXVIII.

1833.

A coercion bill, for the suppression of disturbances in Ireland, was brought before the lords by earl Grey, and carried without opposition ; the conservative, or anti-ministerial peers, thinking that the only fault of government lay, in not having proposed such a measure sooner : but it had to struggle through a much more stormy course in the lower house, where Mr. O'Connell immediately gave notice, that he would move a call of members for the twenty-seventh of February, and repeat it, whenever he perceived any relaxation of its effects, so long as the bill was before them : he taunted ministers, likewise, with the delay which, as he insinuated, was interposed against their remedial measures ; reminding them, that there was another house, through which they might be unable to carry a redress of grievances, whatever was the unanimity with which it enacted measures of coercion ;—a house, where 'any proposal, springing from malignant hatred of Ireland, was sure to pass.' Mr. Stanley justly denied the necessity of remedial and repressive measures going on together ; but declared, that if ministers found themselves unable to carry both, they would resign office.

Irish coercion bill.

On the twenty-seventh, the house having been called over, lord Althorp moved the first reading of the bill ; ministers having waited to the last moment, in order to ascertain the possibility of restoring order by the ordinary administration of the laws. After expounding at length the evils which afflicted Ireland, and explaining the provisions of this bill as calculated to repress them, his lordship declared, that

CHAP.
LXVIII.

1833.

it had no reference to the collection of tithes, or any other individual purpose, except the maintenance of social order : it was, however, met by an amendment from Mr. Tennyson, for a fortnight's delay, in which ministers might, by a select committee, or otherwise, satisfy the house that dangers really existed, and could by no other means be effectually warded off. A vehement debate ensued, which was carried on for six days, and closed by a speech of remarkable energy from Mr. O'Connell ; but, on a division, the first reading of the bill was carried by a majority of 466 to 89 ; a preponderance, which seemed to promise an easy passage through its other stages ; especially, as the discussion, which generally accompanies the second reading, had been elicited by the first : when, however, the order of the day for the second reading was moved on the eighth of March, Mr. Hume opposed it in a violent speech, denouncing the apostasy of ministers : on some matter of form, the second reading was then put off till the eleventh, and carried, after a warm debate, by 363 to 84. Notwithstanding this overwhelming majority, swelled by the conservative party lending their support to government, the progress of the bill through committee, up to the twenty-second of March, was a series of conflicts ; and so many members, in voting for its principle, declared that they did not mean to support all its provisions, that ministers found it prudent to alter several enactments ; especially those relating to courts-martial. After a few more divisions, the bill was read a third time, and passed, on the twenty-ninth of March ; when it was sent back to the upper house, for their concurrence in the alterations made by the commons. Though much dissatisfaction was expressed by several conservative peers, especially with the proviso, that no district should be proclaimed because tithes were not paid in it, as likely to operate in preventing the payment of tithes altogether, the bill was finally passed : on the tenth of April, the lord lieutenant issued a proclamation, suppressing the association of Irish volunteers ; after

which he applied the provisions of the act to the county and city of Kilkenny, with the best effect ; and it soon appeared that the list of outrageous offenders against the laws decreased throughout the country. The late discussions had produced many personal conflicts in debate between the Irish secretary and Mr. O'Connell, as well as the more devoted of his adherents ; by whom Mr. Stanley was regarded with sentiments of bitter hostility : this arose, not more from the energy and effect with which that gentleman repelled the attacks of the repealers, than from a supposition, that he was more determined, than some of his colleagues were suspected to be, to surrender no portion of the revenues of the Irish protestant church : Mr. Stanley therefore consulted his own tranquillity, by accepting, at this time, the office of secretary for the colonies, vacated by viscount Goderich, who was made lord privy seal, and advanced a step in the peerage by the title of earl of Ripon. Sir John Cam Hobhouse now became Irish secretary.

CHAP.
LXVIII.
1833.

While carrying on their measures for tranquillising Ireland, ministers had uniformly admitted, that grievances existed which ought to be redressed ; and had declared a readiness to propose expedients for that purpose : at the head of these had always been placed the Irish established church, standing in the unpopular predicament of possessing large revenues, whilst a majority of the people belonged to a hostile faith, the clergy of which had once been possessors of that opulence : the object of the repealers was to pare down these revenues, while they disclaimed any wish of seeing them bestowed on their own clergy ; but others, and those not Irishmen, regarding every religious establishment as an evil, considered the property of the church as a fund which might be seized for what they called purposes of the state. Ministers resolved to take a middle course between such extremes, conceding much, while they retained what might be considered equal to the wants of the establishment : accordingly, on the twelfth of February, lord Althorp opened in

Irish
church bill.

CHAP.
LXVIII.

1833.

the lower house those measures which government proposed with regard to the Irish church, the total revenues of which, after investigation, were found not to exceed £800,000 per annum. On these funds, it was the intention of ministers, after abolishing first fruits, to impose a tax, varying according to the value of livings and bishoprics, from five to fifteen per cent.; from the operation of which, however, all livings under £200 per annum were to be exempted; while the larger revenues of the primate, and the bishop of Derry, were to be reduced respectively to the amount of £10,000 and £8000 a year. The sum thus collected was to be applied, under commissioners, to the abolition of church cess; the augmentation of poor livings, and building of glebe houses; the division of unions; and the erection of churches: with respect to the offices of deans and chapters, it was proposed, wherever they were unconnected with the cure of souls, to abolish them altogether, or attach them to such cure; with regard to livings, where no duty had been done for the last three years, to suspend the appointment of ministers at the discretion of the commissioners; also, to abolish ten bishoprics, and annex the vacated sees to certain of those that were preserved: lastly, came the lands attached to bishoprics, and the chancellor of the exchequer laid down this principle;—that if, by the act of parliament to be introduced, any new value was given to benefices, that new value, not belonging properly to the church, might be immediately appropriated to the exigences of the state: he believed that £500,000 a year was the value of all Irish episcopal lands to the lessees or tenants, though the bishops did not receive much more than £100,000: by a different mode of granting leases, his lordship showed that a sum of near £3,000,000 might be acquired for the state, without any diminution of income to the bishops; and he concluded with moving for leave to bring in a bill, to alter and amend the laws relating to the established church in Ireland.

The plan thus opened by lord Althorp was calcu-

lated to produce hostility from two opposite quarters;—from the conservative members of opposition, who detested its principle, which they thought destructive to the interests of the church; and from the economists, radicals, and repealers; in whose opinion it left too much to the church untouched: it was clear, however, that these different kinds of opposition could not endanger the success of the bill in the house of commons; for ministers were sure to be joined by one of the parties in resisting any amendment proposed by the other. While Sir R. Inglis and Mr. Goulburn stigmatised the measure as tending to destroy the protestant religion in Ireland, most of the Irish members approved the plan, as far as it went: Mr. O'Connell, however, characterised the estimate of the Irish church revenues as 'a base delusion,' and the design of government as one which went to 'relieve no grievance, except church cess; not even suspending the war against the poor man's pigs and tenth potato. Why then,' he added, 'did I, the other evening, so warmly approve the noble lord's measure? Because it recognises an admirable principle, which he cannot now retract; that where there are no spiritual wants, there is to be no receiver of tithes and church rentals.'

A month elapsed before the bill was brought in, and read, for the first time, on the eleventh of March: in its passage through the house, it occasioned much discussion; and, on the motion of Mr. Stanley, that clause was altered which appropriated the sum of £3,000,000 to the exigences of the state. 'He was aware,' he said, 'that a strong feeling existed, both within and without the house, against the alienation of church property; and therefore he proposed, that the sum alluded to should be paid into the hands of the ecclesiastical commissioners, to be applied to the same purposes as the other funds with which they were entrusted.' This alteration, though stigmatised by Mr. O'Connell as the basest act which a national assembly could sanction, was carried by 280 votes against 148: beneficed clergymen also, in present possession

CHAP.
LXVIII.

1833.

of their livings, were to be exempted from the graduated tax, which was only to affect their successors : the provision, which empowered the commissioners to suspend appointments to benefices, where divine worship had been intermitted three years, was strongly, though unsuccessfully, resisted by the opponents of the bill, as bad in principle, and counter-acting the expansive power and future progress of protestantism in Ireland. On the eighth of July, the bill was read a third time, and passed, by a majority of 274 to 94.

It was the upper house, however, in which the most serious opposition was expected ; since there existed among the peers a majority capable of defeating ministers on any occasion which they might consider expedient : yet this majority, like the minority in the lower house, contained many individuals willing that large concessions should be made to the spirit of the times ; and impressed with an opinion, that the more popular form which the constitution had lately assumed, rendered resistance unwise, where it did not appear to be demanded by the very principles of that constitution.

The bill having been read a first time *pro forma*, the second reading was fixed for the seventeenth of July ; and on the fifteenth, Sir J. Wrottesley proposed a call of the house of commons, to promote the success of this measure, as that of the reform bill had been ensured ; by putting the commons under arms, as it were, at the critical point of its progress : the motion, however, was strongly deprecated by ministers, as tending to embarrass administration, and defeat the very end for which it was proposed : at the same time, they declared, that their official existence would depend on the success which the bill obtained. To the astonishment of the house, Mr. O'Connell, who had voted against its third reading, insisted vehemently that Sir J. Wrottesley should persist in his motion ; declaring, that, although no man could approve less of the bill than he did, yet the dignity of that house

required them to resist any attempt of the lords to keep back even that little pittance of church reform which it contained: the motion was thus pressed to a division, but lost by a majority of 160 to 125.

The debate on the second reading of the bill in the lords was continued by adjournment on the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth of July; and it was carried, after an animated discussion, by 157 votes against 98. In the committee, several amendments were carried, and others successfully resisted; but one having been agreed to on the clause respecting a suspension of appointments to benefices,—that in all such cases, the bishop of the diocese should be intitled to act as member of the board, if not a member already,—the archbishop of Canterbury farther moved, that the revenues of the suspended benefice should be applied to the building or repairing of the church or glebe-house belonging to such benefice; or, if they should not require it, that it should then be paid into the general ecclesiastical fund. This proposition, though opposed by ministers, was carried by a majority of two votes; when earl Grey adjourned the committee, for the purpose of considering what was expedient to be done;—a sort of intimation, that it would be a question for ministers, whether they ought not to throw up the bill, and resign office: on due reflection, however, his lordship did not think the alteration affected the general efficacy of the bill so strongly, as to justify him in abandoning a measure, which he considered essential to the connexion of two kingdoms, to the safety of the people and church of Ireland, and to the general interests of the community at large. When the report was brought up, a few more slight alterations were admitted: the bill was passed on the thirtieth of July, by a majority of 135 to 81; and on the second of August, the commons agreed to the amendments of the lords; Mr. O'Connell observing, that they had not made the bill much worse than they found it; and protesting against its being viewed in any other

CHAP.
LXVIII.

light, than as the first instalment of a debt due to Ireland.

1833.

Another measure, connected with that country, arose from the difficulty of collecting tithes; and a resolution was passed, for exchequer bills, not exceeding £1,000,000, to be issued for advancing, under certain conditions, arrears of tithes due for 1831 and 1832, subject to a deduction of twenty-five per cent, and the value of tithes for 1833, subject to a deduction of fifteen per cent, to any persons intitled to, and desirous of receiving such advances: the amount advanced was to be included in the tithe composition, so as to be repaid in the course of five years by half-yearly instalments. This plan was strongly opposed, principally on the ground that the money would never be repaid; since repayment was still to depend on a collection of tithe, which never would succeed: the pretended loan, it was said, would be converted into a gift; and England, beside paying its own tithe, would be likewise paying that of Ireland. The grand jury and jury bills also were subjects of great importance in the affairs of this distracted country; for none but those acquainted with the jobbing and malversation of an Irish grand jury, could have conceived the abuses attending, and incidental to, their presentments; nor could the partiality displayed in the selection of a petty jury, and the intimidation of witnesses, easily have been surpassed. Two commissions also were issued; one for inquiring into the corporations of Ireland, and the other for investigating the state of its laboring classes.

Abolition
of slavery
in the colo-
nies.

On the subject of West Indian slavery, at the commencement of the session, the minds of reflecting persons were fixed with intense anxiety; nor could any one doubt that it would be brought under the consideration of a reformed parliament, when he observed the zeal of its opponents, and the hold which it had taken on the public: the excited hopes and growing intelligence of the slave population rendered its final settlement, at no distant

period, inevitable ; whilst every day of postponement was fraught with augmented danger : yet the extent of the subject, and the interests which it involved, as well as the conflicting principles and prejudices to be encountered, were sufficient to have appalled any set of men, engaged with so many other important subjects : ministers, however, did not shrink from this arduous task, but boldly and wisely determined to grapple with the question ; and the result was an act providing for the extinction of slavery in the British colonies on the first of August, 1834. While humanity was thus consulted, justice was not neglected ; since the same act provided that a sum of £20,000,000 should be advanced to government by way of loan, to be distributed among the proprietors of slaves as a compensation for the loss of service. But had this act merely granted emancipation to the slave and compensation to the proprietor, it might have been satisfactory to those whose personal and pecuniary interests were directly concerned ; yet it would not have been safe : it was absolutely necessary that some plan should be devised, for preventing the emancipated slave from relapsing into the condition of a savage ; and for obviating the great injury which would accrue to the West India planter, as well as to the trade and revenue of this country, by the immediate and total cessation of slave labor : for these purposes, it was provided, that every negro should, immediately on his emancipation, become an apprentice to his late master for a period not exceeding six years, under an obligation of working forty-five hours in the week ; by which arrangement, a moderate supply of labor was ensured to the proprietor ; while time was given for the enactment of such laws and regulations as different communities might require, as well as for training up the emancipated slave to the duties of a free citizen. The details of this plan were properly left to the local experience of colonial legislatures ; an opportunity also being afforded to them of anticipating,

CHAP.
LXVIII.

1833.

by laws of their own, the enactment of the British parliament, and of acquiring the gratitude and confidence of their slave population, by spontaneously conferring on them the blessings of freedom. On one subject alone ministers felt it necessary to legislate immediately and decisively; removing all restrictions on the teachers of christianity in the colonies, except such as exist in the mother country. It only remains to add, that, in order to superintend the due execution of the proposed plan, and ensure both to masters and apprentices an impartial administration of the laws which were to regulate their mutual relations, it was resolved to send out from this country gentlemen to act as special magistrates, unconnected with local prejudices, and independent of colonial influence. Thus commenced, in a truly christian spirit, one of the grandest experiments ever yet attempted; and which, if it succeeds, will stand among the noblest monuments of British legislation.

Renewal
of Bank
charter.

During no session of any preceding parliament, did the interests of trade and commerce receive greater attention; nor was it without extreme pleasure that practical men saw a reformed house of commons adopting, and even extending, those enlightened principles of policy, which, for some years, had prevailed in our legislature: that period of commercial distress, which lasted during the agitation of the reform bill, was gradually wearing away; and with the prospect of a permanent liberal government, trade appeared steadily increasing: the industry of the country was in full activity; and though the profits of capital were much less than during the feverish excitement of war, yet their general amount was larger, and their advantages were spread over a more extended surface. Two legislative enactments were at this time adopted, which must be considered as bearing on our commercial prosperity in a greater degree, than any which, during a long series of years, have engaged the attention of parliament;—the renewal of the

Bank charter, and that of the East India company. With regard to the first of these measures, which involved many intricate details, and was the subject of long and repeated discussions, its chief provisions were ; — a monthly publication of the Bank accounts ; the repayment of a portion of its capital ; a partial repeal of the usury laws which impeded its action ; an annual payment of £120,000 in return for privileges conceded ; its notes made a legal tender, except at the Bank itself, or its branches ; a quarterly return of the amount of circulation of all other banks ; and certain regulations for the improvement of joint-stock banks, among which the power of obtaining a charter from the crown was not the least.

CHAP.
LXVIII.

1833.

The settlement of the East India question, and of the China trade, was surrounded with peculiar difficulties ; but these, by diligence and attention, were all obviated ; and the measure introduced for their solution, was, with some slight modifications, adopted by parliament. One of the greatest advantages gained by the public was that which opened a rich field for the enterprise and industry of our merchants, by destroying the monopoly of the trade in tea ; while facilities for conducting this branch of commerce, together with a considerable relief from taxation on what has become one of the necessities of life, was given by a subsequent bill for regulating the importation of that article. The long and complicated account between commerce and territory is now settled by a compromise approved by moderate men on all sides : the proprietors of India stock, having become creditors of the country placed under their care, will henceforth have a strong interest in improving its revenues by the maintenance of good order, and the encouragement of industry : the pernicious union of imperial and economical functions in one body is at an end : in the constitution of the board of control changes have been made, which, while they increase its efficiency, diminish the parliamentary influence of

East India
question.

CHAP.
LXVIII.

1833.

ministers: every office under the company has been thrown open to British subjects without distinction; and the whole of India now invites European enterprise and European capital.

Nor must we omit to mention, that the commercial laws of the empire were at this time consolidated and brought into one volume; while no efforts were wanting on the part of government to promote in other states the adoption of the same liberal policy which has been found so advantageous to ourselves. A commercial commission was sent to France; and prohibitions on the export of raw silk from that country,—an object declared last year, before a committee of the commons, to be of vital importance to our manufactures,—were at length removed: nor was parliament less active and zealous in its endeavors to ascertain the actual condition of the laboring classes, than in its efforts to improve them: a committee was appointed for this purpose, at the suggestion of the declaimers about distress; and a laborious inquiry into the principal branches of national industry was carried on: in particular, the factory bill was elaborately discussed; and a commission of inquiry appointed, which collected a vast body of valuable information on that subject; so that an act was passed, which not only reduced the daily labor of children, but made provision for their education in a form which invites and admits the co-operation of benevolent persons of all religious sects: inspectors also have since been appointed, for the purpose of giving effect to this measure, and securing to the next generation the advantages of a manufacturing community of increased intelligence and improved morality. Our limits oblige us to pass by the various reforms begun or perfected in the law, as well as the financial measures of the present session: it must, however, be observed, that great relief was given to the country at large, by a reduction of taxation to the amount of £1,545,000; whilst a rigid system of economy was observable in the army and navy estimates of the year: besides, the whole

subject of appointments connected with these departments was referred to a committee; and the names of its members gave full warrant for belief that the inquiry would be searching, and the reduction as unsparing as was consistent with the efficiency of the services. Among the most important of the commissions appointed by government, was that for inquiring into the state of corporations, those last holds of tory corruption and abused patronage: no evil, in fact, called more loudly for reform than this: no abuses weighed more heavily on the general mass of the population in municipal towns, than the administration of corporate property, and the undue exercise of powers given for the benefit of the people, but in most instances utterly perverted from their original design. If the representation of the country required alteration; if that had become corrupt from age, misuse, and change of times; every argument, used in furtherance of parliamentary reform, applied with tenfold justice and force to a complete revision and reconstruction of municipal corporations. Connected with this subject, was the change now made in Scotch burghs, where the whole system of self-election was intirely abolished: this flagrant abuse, which was introduced nearly four centuries ago, under a pretence of avoiding the tumults incidental to popular elections, had long ago produced its natural fruits, in the utter dilapidation of revenue, in a regular series of corruption and embezzlement, and, at length, in the general discontent and indignation of all classes exposed to its influence: in vain, however, the attention of parliament had been frequently called to a system, which was but too agreeable to its own leaders under the old *régime*: the power of corruption was too great to admit of its destruction, till the voice of the people prevailed in a reformed house of commons.

The transactions of our government in its foreign Foreign policy this year are too important to be passed over politics. in silence. With regard to the Greek question, the

CHAP.
LXVIII.

1833.

grand object remaining to be accomplished, was to place the nation in a well-defined territory, under an independent government, calculated to secure the respect of foreign powers. When the present administration succeeded to office, they found an agreement entered into by their predecessors with the sultan, by which limits were settled for Greece, which would have given to its inhabitants no defensible frontier, but would rather have exposed them to a constant collision with their former oppressors : Sir Stratford Canning therefore was despatched to Constantinople to make a more rational arrangement ; and that able negotiator was completely successful in obtaining the consent of the Porte to an amended boundary. Prince Otho of Bavaria, selected as king of Greece by the three mediating powers, in virtue of an authority from the Greeks themselves, arrived this year in his dominions ; and Greece, awakening from the torpor of ages, took her place among the civilised nations of Europe.

The Belgian question, like the Greek, had its origin in events antecedent to the formation of the present government ; so that ministers found a course chalked out, which they might modify as they advanced, though they could not retrace steps already taken. When the revolution in the Netherlands first broke forth, the king called on his allies for troops : these were refused ; but his next request for the assembling of a conference was granted ; and by subsequent acts of that assembly, the principle of separation between the two countries was established : the task then of the present government was to settle the terms on which a separation should take place, so as to provide for the interests and security of all parties : the difficulties encountered arose from the obstinacy of the Dutch monarch, which has burdened his subjects with expenses, that will probably counterbalance the relief afforded by a division of the public debt between them and the Belgians. The citadel of Antwerp was to be eva-

cuated in fifteen days, by the armistice which his majesty had invoked in November, 1830 ; but the possession of that fortress enabled him to harass the Belgians, and intercept their trade on the Scheldt ; he therefore refused to give it up ; so that England and France, failing to obtain the co-operation of the other three powers, were obliged to have recourse to force : hence the siege of Antwerp by the French troops, and the embargo laid on Dutch vessels by Great Britain. These vigorous measures disconcerted all the calculations of the Dutch king, and of his partisans, whether English Tories or continental absolutists ; who vented their anger in predictions which have utterly failed : the impregnable citadel of Antwerp, which was to have collected the tide of war round its bastions, surrendered in the beginning of this year to marshal Gerard ; whilst our embargo, that was confidently declared to be harmless to the Dutch and ruinous to ourselves, produced the convention of the twenty-first of May, by which the Belgian question was totally changed. The king having agreed to accept an unlimited armistice, the principal point of discussion remaining was that of compensations ; and Europe was secured against the danger of a general war, resulting from the differences between Holland and Belgium.

CHAP.
LXVIII.

1833.

This present year also saw the closing prospect of those dreadful calamities which had so long weighed down the wretched people of Portugal : the tyrant Miguel's fleet was captured by the gallant Napier, and the siege of Oporto was raised ; a liberating army marched in triumph from the Guadiana to the Tagus ; Donna Maria was proclaimed in Lisbon ; and a British minister again presented himself at the court of the rightful sovereign of the country. The English government, though it strictly adhered to that neutrality which it had imposed on itself, contributed mainly to these successes, by requiring other powers to observe the same line of conduct : taught, however, by experience, it did not trust

CHAP.
LXVIII.

1833.

solely to assurances from the cabinet of Madrid ; but prepared itself for all events, by sending a powerful squadron under admiral Parker to the Tagus, with orders to take an active part for Don Pedro, the moment a Spanish force should appear in Portugal to assist the usurper. There can be but little doubt, if a tory government had been established in England,—especially when the motion made in favor of Don Miguel by the duke of Wellington, and the correspondence of his grace, which was published in the journals of the day, are taken into consideration,—that some pretence or other would have been found to let the Spanish army loose, for the purpose of keeping Portugal under subjection to the basest tyrant of modern times : the cause of right, however, triumphed ; and the moral effect of this will be felt throughout the whole continent. While the attention of Europe was absorbed by events in the west, a sudden storm arose in the east : the throne of the sultan was first menaced by a rebellious satrap, and next endangered by a protecting ally : but the exertions of the British government, assisted by that of France, enabled the Porte to escape for the present from both those perils ; for the Egyptian army retired from Asia Minor, and the Russians left Constantinople. It does not, however, appear to be in the design of their ambitious government to disturb the present system by new conquests in Europe : desiring only a free transit for her ships from the Euxine to the Mediterranean, Russia is content to let her European boundaries remain as they are ; well knowing, indeed, that one word from Austria would recall Poland to political existence,—a barrier, against which, if supported by other powers, the leviathan of the north would rage in vain. Neither does Russia regard with any alarm the revolutions which have lately agitated the continent : convinced that within her own frontier the constitutional malady cannot penetrate, she rather views with satisfaction the attention of her neighbors distracted and averted from her ambitious projects in

the east. In the mean time, she keeps her eye steadily fixed on Asia Minor and Persia, with a probable longing after the possession of Hindostan. The personal character of her autocrat affects but in a remote degree the policy of her empire : the ambition of Nicholas is even now satisfied : but he is a party, despite of himself, in the plan traced out for the future destinies of his country ;—a plan, which seems to be laid out on almost unerring principles, so admirably have they succeeded in operation up to the present hour. A good understanding with Austria is alone requisite to ensure western Europe against that mighty power, which, like a thunder cloud in the heavens, fills the beholders with alarm : but we must keep an unceasing watch over its progress in Asia ; where already its possession of the whole eastern coast and the Black Sea, its conquest of Circassia, its demonstration on the Persian frontiers, and its probable occupation hereafter of Asia Minor, are enough to fill us with lively apprehensions for the future. With France, our relations afforded, and have continued to afford, a striking contrast to those exhibited in all former periods of history : time was, when the countries imagined themselves natural enemies, and the foes of one became friends of the other : but those days are happily passed away ; and two great intelligent nations reap from the friendly intercourse of peace advantages far beyond any which the most successful war could procure for either.

The brief and imperfect outline which has been given of the transactions of this session, are sufficient to show, that in no preceding period of equal length was so much undertaken, or so much accomplished : the spirit of the reform bill was honestly allowed to act in correcting abuses which affected our institutions ; while the utmost care was taken, lest the spirit of liberty should be extinguished in the rest of Europe : the great majority in the commons were found to be partisans, neither of ministers nor of opposition, but of good government ; and

CHAP.
LXVIII.

1834.

Opening
of parlia-
ment.

when the session closed, on the twenty-ninth of August, the king justly observed, in his speech, that 'it was not more remarkable for extended duration, than for the patient and persevering industry, which parliament had displayed in many laborious inquiries, and in perfecting the various legislative measures brought under its consideration.'

On the fourth of February, his majesty opened the session with a speech, in which, among other matters, he alluded to the slavery abolition bill, introduced last year; stating, that the manner in which that beneficent measure had been received throughout the colonies, and the progress made in carrying it into effect by the legislature of Jamaica, afforded just grounds for anticipating the happiest results. Among several important subjects still calling for consideration, he enumerated reports from the commissioners appointed to inquire into the state of municipal corporations, into the administration of the poor-laws, and into the ecclesiastical revenues of England and Wales; by which parliament might be enabled to judge of the nature and extent of existing defects or abuses, and in what manner any necessary corrections might, in due season, be safely and beneficially applied. The chief point in our foreign policy related to the government of Spain: 'on the death of the late king,' said his majesty, 'I did not hesitate to recognise the succession of his infant daughter; and I shall watch with great solicitude the progress of events, which may affect a government, the peace of which is of the first importance to this country, and to the general tranquillity of Europe.'

On the motion for an address in the house of lords, the whole policy of government, domestic and foreign, was vehemently attacked by the duke of Wellington; who was ably answered by earl Grey: in the commons, amendments were moved by Mr. Hume and Mr. O'Connell; and colonel Evans, while he applauded the system of our neutrality regarding Portugal, expressed his hopes, that the commercial

relations, which Prussia was establishing with many German states for the exclusion of British manufactures, would attract the attention of government.

CHAP.
LXVIII.

1834.

After Mr. O'Connell had prepared a way during the previous part of the session, he made his motion to repeal the union between Great Britain and Ireland on the twenty-second of April; declaring that there never existed a greater mistake, than to suppose that England possessed any right of dominion over the latter country. Having maintained, at great length, the incompetency of parliament to pass the act of union, and having detailed the dishonorable means by which it was accomplished, he proceeded to prove, that the financial and legislative terms on which the great question had been settled, were in their very nature fraudulent and unjust: looking at these circumstances, he dreaded the probable consequences of a continuance of the union; though he thought the connexion between the two countries might still be kept up on principles of international right and justice: Ireland, he said, had been hitherto governed, not by constitutional law, but in a spirit of despotism; therefore he demanded a restoration of her national legislature. He was answered at great length, and with equal ability, by Mr. Spring Rice; who, having enumerated the manifold advantages gained by Ireland from the union, declared, that he did not consider this a contest for victory: a far more valuable stake was at issue. To repeal the union, and at the same time expect to maintain a profitable connexion between the two countries, was contrary to all experience and principles of government: in such a case, constitutional monarchy would be overthrown, and succeeded by a fierce democracy: the people of Ireland were not prepared for a domestic legislature; power would be abused, party spirit would increase in rancor, and the rash measure would be followed by a total subversion of the empire: he moved therefore an address to his majesty, expressing the fixed determination of the commons to maintain inviolate the legislative union between

CHAP.
LXVIII.

1834.

Great Britain and Ireland ; a determination, to be justified, not only on general grounds, but by reasons of special application to Ireland itself ; declaring also, that while the house endeavored to remove all just causes of complaint alleged by the Irish people, it would promote every well-considered measure of rational liberty. A similar view of the subject was taken by Sir Robert Peel, who declared, that there were convictions to which the feelings of the heart applied as strongly as the faculties of the mind ; and on this point he repeated the exclamation of Mr. Canning : — ‘ Repeal the union ! re-enact the heptarchy ! ’ The security of the empire depended on the maintenance of that union, without which England would be reduced to the condition of a fourth-rate power, and Ireland to the desolation of a wilderness. Nature herself proclaimed the folly of such a scheme : to preserve the existence of these islands as a leading state in Europe, it was absolutely necessary that they should be governed by one supreme head, and one supreme legislature. The union had now endured thirty-three years ; within which period the events of centuries had been crowded, and Great Britain alone, of all European states, remained safe from foreign aggression ; her armies joining in one common exertion, and glorying in one common victory : during that period, the legislature had been guided by the wisdom of Pitt and Castlereagh, of Fox and Grattan ; while the British army was under the command of Wellington, who, with his back to the sea, on the rock of Lisbon, saw Europe in dismay ; but never ceased from his glorious labors till the whole continent was emancipated. The amendment for the address was carried by 523 votes against 38 for the original motion ; the minority, with a single exception, consisting of Irish members. On the thirtieth of April, the commons, in a conference, communicated their address to the lords, who, in one spirit, unanimously concurred in its sentiments, and ordered the blank, which was purposely left, to be filled up with the words ‘ lords spiritual and temporal : ’ it

was then presented, as a joint address to the king, who expressed, in his answer, the great satisfaction with which he had received the solemn and united declaration of both houses to maintain the union inviolate; his determination to exercise fearlessly and faithfully the powers vested in him, for the protection of his subjects against all attempts to produce a division of the realm; and his anxiety to remove all just causes of complaint, as well as to sanction every well-considered measure of improvement.

A very unreasonable share of the time of parliament continued to be taken up by the discussion of Irish affairs, and the disputes of Irish members. In offering an open and determined resistance to the demand of the agitators for a repeal of the union, ministers carried along with them the sense and feeling of the people: that was a question on which scarcely any man differed from the government, except Mr. O'Connell and his adherents; but questions connected with the Irish church stood in a different light. The agitators supported the repeal, as a measure tending, not more to perpetuate their own domination, than to secure the downfall of the protestant establishment: many, likewise, who resisted repeal, still demanded changes and curtailments in that establishment, which they considered the principal cause of all the turbulence and misery afflicting Ireland: others, again, who disliked it, not because it was a protestant, but because it was a religious establishment, inveighed against what they termed an unhallowed connexion between church and state, and the practical injustice of compelling persons of one belief to support the institutions of a different creed; and these were ready to attack, not only the revenues, but the very existence of the Irish church, as the first step toward the destruction of that of England. Union in the cabinet, with a firm determination not to be driven farther than they themselves were inclined to go, might have rendered ministers sufficiently strong to defy such

CHAP.
LXVIII.

1834.

Divisions
in the
cabinet.

destructive reformers ; but on this question the cabinet itself was unfortunately divided : one portion of the ministry, numerically the strongest, seemed inclined to admit the principle of appropriation, which they had repudiated in the bill of last session, by withdrawing the clause in which it was contained ; but the minority, however willing to remove striking and useless inequalities in the distribution of the ecclesiastical revenue, and to adopt measures which would prevent irritating collisions in its collection, resisted, on principle, any transfer of it to other purposes ; and especially refused to acquiesce in proposals for making the protestant establishment depend on the comparative strength or weakness of the Romish church.

This discordance of opinion, and the impropriety of so soon impugning the settlement of last session, would have prevented ministers from voluntarily starting the subject ; but it was forced on them by a numerous and clamorous party, which made up in fury and zeal for deficiency in knowledge and discretion ; and which declared, that in attempting to shield the Irish church, they were apostatising from the great principles of reform : when, therefore, Mr. Ward's motion came on, for reducing the temporalities of that church, as exceeding the spiritual wants of the protestant population, a schism took place in the cabinet : ministers, pressed by difficulties on all sides, were anxious to get rid of the proposal by appointing a commission, to inquire into the state of the Irish church : such an expedient, however, necessarily implied, that if facts turned out in a particular way, there would be no longer any opposition to Mr. Ward's principles ; and the consequence was, that Mr. Stanley, colonial secretary, and Sir James Graham, first lord of the admiralty, resigned office ; their example being soon followed by the duke of Richmond and the earl of Ripon.

On this occasion, that firm friend of a reforming ministry, lord Ebrington, got up an address to earl

Grey, signed by many members of the house of commons, entreating him to retain his place, and expressing their unabated confidence in him, as the only minister on whom the country could safely rely. His lordship, in reply, announced his intention of making any personal sacrifice, in support of those principles on which his administration was founded; but he was obliged to admit the embarrassment and mischief produced by a reckless desire shown for innovation; while he deprecated that 'constant and active pressure from without,' in favor of measures, the necessity of which had not been fully proved, and which were not strictly regulated by attention to the settled institutions of the country in church and state. 'On no other principles,' he justly observed, 'could this or any other administration be conducted with advantage or safety.' The vacant offices were soon filled up: the marquis of Conyngham became post-master general, and the earl of Carlisle privy seal; lord Auckland succeeded Sir James Graham at the admiralty; and Mr. Spring Rice, whose talents, buoyancy, and aptitude for business had long marked him as a man destined to rise in the state, was made colonial secretary in place of Mr. Stanley: Mr. Abercromby and Mr. Cutlar Fergusson, who had not previously held office, were appointed respectively master of the mint and judge advocate; Mr. Robert Grant being sent to India as governor of Bombay; and Mr. Poulett Thompson being made president, instead of vice-president, of the board of trade.

CHAP.
LXVIII.

1834.

While the cabinet was thus shaken by internal dissensions, publicity was given to a declaration made by the king to the Irish prelates, which seemed to announce, that his majesty would regard any designs against their church with no more favorable eye than the retired ministers. When the house met again on the second of June, lord Althorp informed them that a lay commission had been appointed to inquire into the whole state of church property and church affairs throughout Ireland; also into those of Roman catholics and dissenters;

CHAP.
LXVIII.

1834.

into the number of schools in each parish, and the different religious persuasions of those that attended them : the minutest investigation of church property was to be made ; and the proportion of protestants, catholics, and dissenters of all denominations set down. No ministers would have advised the crown to adopt such a measure as this, without being prepared to act on that report, as occasion and circumstances should point out, and as the information procured should warrant : accordingly, his lordship trusted, that Mr. Ward, satisfied with what government had done, would withdraw his motion : the honorable member, however, refused this request, because he must press for a recognition of the principle ; especially as, from what he saw passing around him, he was afraid the present ministers would not continue long in office ; and if they were removed, the commission would be inoperative. Lord Althorp then moved, as an amendment, the previous question ; principally on the ground, that of all propositions, this was one which required much previous inquiry and detailed information : he had never swerved from the principle, that an established church ought to be maintained ; and it was because he thought the result of inquiry would be favorable to its maintenance, that he had joined in recommending the commission : he was convinced, that to apply its surplus revenues to moral and religious education, would tend to advance the interests, both of the establishment and of protestantism generally ; but he did not see the propriety or utility, before members possessed the requisite information, of asserting a right, which he was confident the house would exercise whenever a case for its interference, was made out. After a long debate, the amendment was carried by 396 votes against 120 ; and the majority would have been still larger, had not a considerable number of conservative members, unwilling to assume even the appearance of tampering with this question, left the house before the division.

Ministers, in the mean time, had been proceeding with a bill to amend the tithe system in Ireland, founded on principles, which should extinguish tithe altogether as a payment to be demanded in kind, and should lay the burden, directly at least, on a different class of payers, in the shape of a land tax. The moderate members reserved their opinion of this measure until its details should come more fully before the house ; but Mr. O'Connell, followed by Messrs. O'Connor, Shiel, Grattan, and other declared enemies of a protestant establishment, immediately attacked it with unmeasured violence : their motive was obvious ; for the ministerial plan did not abolish tithe, which was the object now aimed at by the agitators : the landlords of Ireland, it was said, must look to themselves ; for the principle, on which opposition to tithes had hitherto been conducted, would soon be applied to rents ; since the people would not regard the present measure as the slightest alleviation of their misery. Mr. O'Connell proposed, that two-thirds of the existing tithe should be abolished, the remaining third being left as a quit-rent on the land : after providing for the life interest of present incumbents, he would apply the produce to relieving the landlord from grand-jury assessments, to the support of charities, and to other public purposes. This plan was characterised by lord John Russell as one of direct robbery and spoliation, which would be advantageous to none but landowners : on a division, the original resolution was carried by 219 against 42 ; and a bill, founded on it, was brought in. When the second reading was moved, certain alterations were introduced, to conciliate Irish members ; but their opposition continued, and increased in violence ; for with them no plan could be favorably accepted, which did not recognise the principle of despoiling the protestant church : the second reading, therefore, was not carried without long debates and various manœuvres ; while the conservative members who spoke, were generally inclined to carry the bill into committee : their objection to it was, not that it

CHAP.
LXVIII.1834.
Irish tithe
bill.

CHAP.
LXVIII.

1834.

left too much to the clergy, but that it took too much from them ; yet they deemed it necessary to support ministers, in order to prevent worse measures from being brought forward : they also believed that the money to be secured by the present measure was to be applied exclusively to the purposes of the church ; although this belief was somewhat shaken by the language of lord John Russell, who stated, that he understood the bill to be one for securing a certain fund appropriated to religious and charitable purposes ; and if parliament found it was not so applied, it would be its duty to consider of a new appropriation : he thought the revenues of the Irish church much larger than the religious instruction of the protestant population, or the safety of the church required : when therefore this property was once successfully vindicated against those who unjustly withheld it, he would be prepared to do justice to Ireland ; for if ever a people had reason to complain of a grievance, it was the people of Ireland, in relation to the present appropriation of tithes. These sentiments were hailed by the Roman catholic party, as intimating an approaching concession of all they had demanded.

When the bill went into committee, interminable debates ensued, and various alterations were made ; but on a resolution moved by Mr. Littleton,—‘ that for any deficit which might arise in the sums accruing to the commissioners of woods and forests, out of the land-tax or rent-charges, payable for the composition of ecclesiastical tithes in Ireland, to the payment of which the consolidated fund was pledged, that fund should be indemnified from the revenues in the hands of the ecclesiastical commissioners, and out of the perpetuity purchase fund, placed at their disposal by the act of the last session, intitled the Irish church temporalities act ;’—Mr. Stanley attacked the measure, and the proceedings of his former colleagues, in the most violent and unmeasured language : believing that government, which he compared to a set of *thimble-rig players* at a country fair, was com-

mitting injustice, and would yet fail in its aim ; that the country was against this injustice ; and that Ireland, after it had been perpetrated, would not be more tranquil ; —he would take the sense of the committee on the resolution now proposed. After lord Althorp had replied to this truculent attack of his late colleague, Mr. Hume moved an amendment, and a sharp debate ensued ; but the amendment was thrown out, and the ministerial resolution carried by 235 votes against 171 : at this stage, however, the progress of the bill was arrested for a time by circumstances, to which it becomes necessary to advert.

CHAP.
LXVIII.

1834.

In the preceding session it had been found requisite to pass, what was termed the coercion bill ; to put down, if possible, that insurrectionary violence and combination, which filled Ireland with crimes and misery : the act was to expire in August this year ; and ministers, instigated by information received, had determined to propose its renewal, with the omission of those parts that related to the trial of offenders in certain cases by courts-martial : there were, however, other provisions in the bill, which the agitators viewed with still greater dislike ; as interfering with their own influence, by preventing those meetings, which enabled them to work on the ignorance and passions of the multitude : to escape from these restrictions, was much more important to them, than that the peasant should have the benefit of a jury, or of an investigation by the civil magistrate : the lord lieutenant had recommended, that the whole act should be renewed, with the exception of the clause relative to courts-martial ; but on the twenty-third of June, lord Grey received from him a letter, intimating that the provision against public meetings might also be dispensed with. What influence or suggestions might have been used with the marquis Wellesley, to induce this change of opinion, became afterwards the subject of much discussion ; but certain members of the cabinet appeared to have been corresponding with him without the knowlege

Renewal of
Irish coercion
bill.

CHAP.
LXVIII.

1834.

of earl Grey ; the object of their communications being, to smoothe the path of ministers in the house of commons, through concessions to O'Connell and his party : his lordship, who dissented intirely from these views, immediately wrote to the lord lieutenant, to re-consider the subject, taking nothing into account but what was fitting for Ireland ; and lord Wellesley concluded his correspondence, by adhering to his recommendation ; more especially, if, by means of such omission, an extension of the term for the act could be obtained. When the subject was brought before the cabinet, its members were divided in opinion ; and the minority, consisting of lord Althorp, Mr. C. Grant, Mr. Spring Rice, Mr. Ellice, and Mr. Abercromby,¹⁵ objected to a renewal of the clauses in question ; though they acquiesced in the determination of the majority, that the bill should be proposed in the form desired by the premier. On its second reading, July the fourth, lord Durham objected to the clauses regarding public meetings ; when earl Grey declared his dissent from him to be absolute ; and that, if he could not have proposed the bill with those clauses, he would not have proposed it at all ; for without them, it would be ineffectual, impolitic, and cruel ; punishing the miserable victims of delusion, but letting those escape, who, whatever may have been the cause, had of late years supplied Ireland with fuel for agitation and disturbance : in these sentiments the lord chancellor coincided ; thinking it would be strange if attention should not be given to the cause of excitement, as well as to the parties excited. The bill, having been thus read without any serious opposition, the committee was fixed for the seventh of July ; but in the mean time, disclosures were made in the house of commons, which stopped its progress in its present shape, and overturned the minister who had proposed it. Mr. Littleton, the Irish secretary, had committed the fatal error of negotiating, unknown to the head

¹⁵ See Annual Register for 1834, p. 102.

of the government, with Mr. O'Connell; and, for the purpose of soothing, had entrusted him with certain views and determinations of the cabinet. The great agitator having, in an address to the electors of the county of Wexford, fulminated threats and denunciations against the whig ministry; imploring the reformers of Great Britain to come forward, and 'teach the insane dotard, who was at the head of administration, that Englishmen and Scotchmen were alive to the sufferings of Ireland;'—Mr. Littleton, instead of meeting such a temper with uncompromising firmness, preferred to make Mr. O'Connell a confidant, and to give him assurances, or, at least, to encourage expectations, for which he had no authority: he seems to have expected some communication from the lord lieutenant regarding the omission of the clauses; and he resolved, before the minister or the cabinet had made any decision, to communicate to him, under the seal of secrecy and confidence, the sentiments of the Irish government; and to communicate it as ensuring a similar determination on the part of the ministry: he spoke of the propriety of doing this to lord Althorp, who saw no harm in it, but entreated him to use extreme caution, and by no means to commit himself. Under such circumstances, Mr. Littleton sent for Mr. O'Connell, on the twentieth of June, and made the desired communication, with an assurance, that only a short measure, for repressing agrarian disturbances, would be proposed; also, that if the coercion bill was again thought necessary, it should not be introduced by him: in consequence of which interview, Mr. O'Connell, having promised secrecy and support to ministers in putting down disturbances, withdrew the repeal candidate, whom he had started for the county of Wexford with every prospect of success.

To the dismay of Mr. Littleton, the minister and majority of the cabinet, contrary to the suggestions of the lord lieutenant, determined to retain the clause respecting public meetings; and the Irish secretary was compelled to belie his confidential

CHAP.
LXVIII.

1834.

communication, after having brought ministers into a state of inextricable embarrassment: he communicated, however, to Mr. O'Connell the impossibility of those hopes, which he had held out, being realised; but begged him to take no public notice of this, until he should have seen earl Grey's speech introducing the bill: Mr. O'Connell declared, that he then remarked to the Irish secretary, that if he did not resign he would be guilty of deception; and that Mr. Littleton answered, 'Say nothing of that to-day,' or 'Wait till to-morrow:' but with regard to the fact, whether such an answer was or was not given, the two gentlemen publicly averred before the house, each on his honor, that what the other stated was not consistent with truth.

Mr. O'Connell thought he had been deceived, and was no longer bound to secrecy: he was in possession of the fact, that the Irish government was, at least, not friendly to this unpopular measure; he knew well the advantageous position which he had thus gained for opposing it, and the difficulties in which government would be involved by the disclosure of its own dissensions, and of the fact, that many of its members were acting in opposition to their convictions in a matter which concerned the constitutional rights of the people: on the third of July, therefore, two days after the bill had been introduced in the lords, he put to Mr. Littleton many annoying questions; and having driven him to declare, that whoever might bring in the bill, he would vote for it, asserted that he (Mr. O'Connell) had been egregiously deceived: Mr. Littleton was then under the necessity of detailing the whole proceedings; and a very angry discussion ensued. Two days afterwards, the honorable gentleman tendered his resignation, which was refused; his colleagues, as lord Althorp stated, on the seventh of July, valuing his services too highly so to dispense with them.

On the seventh of July, the coercion bill passed through committee in the lords without alteration;

and on the same evening, in the house of commons, lord Althorp, for the purpose of announcing its approach, presented papers relative to the state of Ireland, and moved for their being printed: this of course led to a discussion on the sentiments of the cabinet, and the change of opinion manifested by lord Wellesley; after which, Mr. O'Connell, who was more violent and abusive than ever, moved an amendment, that the papers should be referred to a select committee; and when this was rejected by a large majority, he immediately gave notice for the production of so much of the lord lieutenant's correspondence, as would explain the reason why he opposed a renewal of the coercion act on or about the twentieth of June.

Lord Althorp, now probably supposing that it would be impossible to carry the bill through in its original form, and not expecting it to remain a secret that he himself had been opposed to a renewal of the restrictive clause, sent in his resignation; nor, after a personal interview with lord Grey, could he be induced to recall it, and appear in the unenviable light of a cabinet minister submitting to conduct measures which suspended the constitution, contrary to his own conviction of their necessity: the resignation, however, of the chancellor of the exchequer involved that of earl Grey. The premier convinced himself that it was impossible for him to proceed, when deprived of lord Althorp's assistance; and finding that the latter could not be dissuaded from his determination, he gave in his own resignation, which his majesty accepted: no others, however, followed; though, while lord Brougham had been stating to the lords, that he, at least, had no intention to retire, and that the only seceders were lords Grey and Althorp, the latter announced in the house of commons, that 'the administration was at an end.' This, however, was not the case: instead of seeking a premier to construct a new cabinet, the members of the old one resolved to remain together, and select a new head: lord Melbourne, therefore,

CHAP.
LXVIII.

1834.

Resigna-
tion of
earl Grey.

CHAP.
LXVIII.

1834.
Administra-
tion of lord
Melbourne.

the home secretary, was elevated to this post, and kissed hands, on the sixteenth of July, as first lord of the treasury :¹⁶ to obtain the co-operation, however, of lord Althorp, the new premier was obliged to declare that ministers did not intend to proceed with the coercion bill now before parliament ; but that another measure, omitting certain clauses contained in the former, would be immediately introduced in the lower house. Thus the great agitator exhibited his power, not only in throwing out that prime minister who was most influential in resisting 'the pressure from without ;' but in compelling the majority of the cabinet, under his successor, to relax those restrictive clauses which were to impose fetters on his own powers of agitation. Lord Melbourne's announcement of the new bill on the seventeenth of July, produced an irregular, but very vehement discussion, in which the conduct of government, and some of its individual members, was assailed by the earl of Wicklow, lord Wharncliffe, the dukes of Wellington and Buckingham, and other peers ; who maintained, that since the revolution, no instance had occurred of such inconsistency and tergiversation : the modified coercion bill, however, was introduced by lord Althorp on the eighteenth of July ; and, having been rapidly carried through the commons, passed the lords on the twenty-ninth, under a strong protest signed by the dukes of Cumberland and Wellington, with twenty-one other peers.

Rejection
of Irish
tithe bill by
the peers.

Ministers, having thus provided for the tranquillity of Ireland, by what they considered enactments of sufficient energy and severity, now returned to what was intended as the great recompense of her temporary subjection to a strained power of the law : accordingly, the order of the day, on the twenty-ninth, was read for the house of commons to

¹⁶ He was succeeded by viscount Duncannon ; and Sir John Cam Hobhouse was placed at the head of the woods and forests, with a seat in the cabinet : lord Carlisle soon afterwards resigned the privy seal, and was succeeded by the earl of Mulgrave.

resolve itself into a committee on the tithe bill. Mr. O'Connell immediately moved, as an amendment, that this should take place that day six months; on the ground, that it was preposterous to go at so late a period of the session into committee on a bill containing 122 clauses, relative to a matter so complicated and difficult: this amendment, however, only obtained fourteen voices in its favor; though others were carried in committee, which went to alter the operation and consequences of the bill. Lord Melbourne, on moving its second reading in the house of lords, gave the peers clearly to understand, that, if it was lost, government would propose no other grant to relieve the Irish clergy. Although he admitted, that there might be reasons for viewing with jealousy and distrust the quarter whence certain alterations, made in the bill subsequently to its original introduction, proceeded; yet he did not think the arrangement itself bad for the church: the tithe, in future, was to be received by the crown, and paid by the landlord; who, in return for the burden thus imposed on him, was to have a deduction of two-fifths, or forty per cent of the original composition: the incomes of the clergy, however, were not to bear the whole deduction, which was only to be twenty-two and a half per cent on them; that is, twenty per cent for increased security, and two and a half per cent for the expenses of collection: incumbents therefore would receive £77. 10s. for every £100, without trouble, without the risk of bad debts, and without any of that odium which had hitherto attended the collection of tithes. Another consequence was, that the clergy would be relieved from the repayment of sums already advanced to them from the treasury; as that charge would be laid on the landlord: the revision of existing compositions, made under the acts of 1823 and 1832, seemed to him also a proper enactment. The bill underwent a complete discussion; the tory lords seeing no security for the rights and interests of the Irish clergy,

CHAP.
LXVIII.

.1834.

in yielding to what they considered an act of injustice ; while their opponents thought that it would be much more advantageous to the clerical body to obtain the sum proposed without risk, than to recover a smaller, if they recovered any at all, through scenes of blood and slaughter: ‘but the bill,’ said lord Brougham, ‘was to be rejected, because Mr. O’Connell approved of it, and had amended it: that was to say, a man whom they disliked had only to advise them how to save the country from a civil war, in order to ensure the rejection of such a suggestion ! It was very easy for such politicians to say, —Am I to degrade myself by taking a leaf out of Mr. O’Connell’s book ? Shall I permit him to dictate to me ? But he did dictate to them ; and the only difference was ;—that instead of taking the thing honestly and directly as a beneficial suggestion, they submitted to take the law from him, by enabling him to decide what they should not do.’

The earl of Ripon and the duke of Richmond wished the bill to go into committee, with an intention of restoring it to its original state ; and if unsuccessful there, they would vote against the third reading : on a division, however, the second reading was rejected by a majority of sixty-seven ; and the Irish clergy was thus thrown on the charity of the British public, by whom a very large subscription was made to relieve their distresses.

Efforts of
dissenters.

But it was not the church of Ireland alone that engrossed the attention of parliament : the dissenters of England, forming a numerous body, and possessing, in many instances, great respectability, wealth, and influence, became anxious, not only to obtain those privileges, from which, as religionists, they were excluded ; but to be relieved from the necessity of supporting an establishment, in the advantages of which they did not participate : in accordance with these views, various petitions were presented by them to parliament, in the beginning of the session, praying to be relieved from church rates ; and, in many instances, urging the separation

of church and state, or recommending the general establishment of the voluntary system : nor did they want supporters in parliament ; since to those, whose opinions rested on an honest belief, were added all who looked merely at the rich prize which might be gained in church property, if the establishment could be overthrown ; besides all who openly professed that no religious creed should be established ; and all who wished to use the spirit of innovation as a political engine, gradually undermining old political institutions. These petitions led to no other result but that of producing a strong expression of opposite opinion, and calling forth numerous anti-petitions, praying parliament to preserve the church inviolate : ministers also fulfilled their declarations, that they would listen to no proposition for its destruction : nevertheless, a motion made by Mr. Rippon, the new member for Gateshead, to expel the bishops from the house of lords, found a minority of fifty-eight voices, in a house consisting of 183 members ; and the announcement was hailed with loud cheers and acclamations.

Among the grievances of which the dissenters complained in their numerous petitions, none were more strongly dwelt on than their practical exclusion from degrees at Oxford and Cambridge, in consequence of being required to sign a declaration of conformity with the church of England, or to subscribe her articles : they demanded, as a matter of civil right, that religious tests should be abolished, and the universities thrown open for education, and a certain extent of graduation, to men of any creed. It was clear that their chance of success would be greatly increased, if they could state a feasible case of concurrent opinion in these learned bodies themselves ; and fortune at this time favored their exertions at Cambridge. Great pains had been lately taken by some of the medical professors in that university, to advance the interests of their particular science ; and being alarmed at the exertions made in the metropolis, not only to establish a

CHAP.
LXVIII.

1834.

medical school, but to obtain the power of granting degrees, they felt anxious to ward off the mischief which might thence accrue to their Alma Mater, by opening her doors wider to students of medicine: for this purpose, however, it was necessary to admit others with them into the sanctuary; and as a considerable body existed in the senate, who thought the time had now arrived when dissenters from the established church might safely be admitted to such academical degrees as were unconnected with theology; and who, instead of seeing danger to our establishment from the introduction of a few young men of the higher class of dissidents into the academical body, thought rather that the dissenting community had reason to fear for the conversion of their youth, when brought into the desired association;—a petition was got up without much difficulty, and signed by sixty-three resident members of the senate, praying for the abolition of religious tests offered to candidates for degrees in arts, law, and physic: at the same time, in making this request, the petitioners stated, ‘that they were only asking for a restitution of their ancient laws and laudable customs; since the restrictions complained of were imposed on the university in the reign of James I.; most of them in a manner informal and unprecedented, and grievously against the wishes of many then members of the senate; in times of bitter party animosities, and during the prevalence of dogmas both in church and state, which are at variance with the present spirit of English law, and with the true principles of christian toleration.’

This petition, which simply asked the removal of subscription,—neither seeking the admission of dissenters as such, nor their participation in college fellowships, nor any change on their account in lectures or discipline,—was presented on the twenty-first of March by earl Grey in the lords, and on the twenty-fourth by Mr. Spring Rice in the commons; being considered as a convenient instrument to try the temper of the two houses, and ascertain the

views of different parties, by the discussion which it was sure to produce : as the subject, however, seemed new to parliament, no motion was made till after the Easter recess ; when colonel Williams moved an address to his majesty, praying him to signify his royal pleasure to the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, that those bodies should act no longer under the edicts or letters of James I. 1616 : it was, however, thought, for many reasons, more advisable to proceed by bill ; and Mr. Wood, one of the members for Preston, moved an amendment to that effect, which was carried by one hundred and eighty-five to forty-four.

CHAP.
LXVIII.

1834.

Though the Cambridge petition had been presented in both houses by members of the cabinet, and government had declared its intire concurrence in the prayer of the petitioners, no proposition on the subject was brought forward by ministers : favorable as they were to this measure of relaxation ; they expressed their hopes, that, as a portion of one of the universities was already inclined to it, the object, if not pressed too eagerly, might be effected with the concurrence of both those learned bodies ; in a much better form, and to much better purpose, than if they were made to act reluctantly under the compulsion of a statute : they wished therefore that neither parliament nor government should be driven to interfere in the business, before there was a prospect of terminating it in the best and most satisfactory manner : the dissenters, however, and their partisans took the matter into their own hands, and pressed on with such unseemly violence, as soon disgusted their best friends : ministers would not run the risk of preventing them ; but took no lead in the measure, though they supported it by their speeches and votes.

Before the bill was brought in, the sentiments of the great mass in the two academical bodies became fully expressed : it was soon discovered, that the sixty-three petitioners at Cambridge, by offending the honest principles of many, and the rancorous

CHAP.
LXVIII.

1834.

party-spirit of a few, had raised a storm, which no argument or explanation, though it engaged some of the ablest pens in that university, could allay. Meetings were held almost daily, pamphlets were showered forth like hail, the public journals gave up their pages to the contest, and the university pulpit resounded with the most awful denunciations: during the excitement thus provoked, a counter-petition was signed by 258 members, resident and non-resident, comprising eleven heads of houses, eight professors, and twenty-nine tutors; while a second was signed by 755 undergraduates and bachelors of arts: these were presented, on the twenty-first of April, by the duke of Gloucester, as chancellor of the university, in the house of lords; and by Mr. Goulburn, one of its representatives, in the house of commons. On the ninth of May, Mr. Estcourt presented a similar document from the university of Oxford; and a second petition was sent from Cambridge, signed by 1000 members of the senate, who had not signed the other.

Although Mr. Wood brought in his bill soon after the Easter holidays, it was not till the twentieth of June, that he was enabled to move the second reading: Mr. Estcourt then proposed, as an amendment, that it should be read a second time that day six months: he argued, that the course of education pursued at Oxford and Cambridge was essentially a religious one, and the supporters of the bill could not succeed in their object without destroying the religious part of the system: this, indeed, he said, was the aim of the dissenters;—to introduce a system of education, which would lead to a dissolution of the connexion existing between the church and state; or, in other words, to the destruction of the established religion of the country. Mr. Herbert, who seconded the amendment, enforced the argument.—‘It had been suggested,’ he said, ‘that persons of all denominations might be taught the leading doctrines of morality and religion, without touching on debateable questions: but he doubted if this were

possible; and he expected no advantage from so vague a system of theology,—an emasculated kind of instruction in christianity and morals, producing no feeling of confidence or reverence in the minds of its pupils: a bill like the present would operate as a direct exclusion of the clergy from the universities; and every parish in England would feel the consequences.’ In addition to this argument, the honorable gentleman asked, why the dissenters, who were an opulent and intelligent body, did not found colleges of their own, in which they might adopt that system which pleased them best; and if they hedged in their institutions with religious tests, calculated to exclude churchmen, the latter would not complain. The answer to this was given in the speech of Mr. Potter, who, with Messrs. Ewart and Poulter, spoke in favor of the bill; contending that the alteration required was necessary, no less for the benefit of the universities, than in justice to the dissenters: by the present system, the latter were impeded in their progress to the bar, by having to keep terms for five years instead of three; and were prevented from becoming fellows of the college of physicians, for want of academical degrees; and this could not be remedied by degrees of their own. With regard to subscription of the thirty-nine articles, it was said, that instead of ensuring sincerity in religion, it generated hypocrisy and indifference to religion altogether: it was also declared, that the exclusive principles of the universities, being no longer in accordance with the spirit of the age, could not be much longer preserved; especially when so large a body of dissenters had grown up, actuated by a desire of obtaining their just rights. Mr. C. W. Wynne was convinced that the present bill was but the first of a series of measures, which, if not checked in time, must lead to the subversion of the established church, and the destruction of all our institutions. On the other hand, Mr. Spring Rice complained, that it was unfair to treat the bill, not according to its own deserts, but in re-

CHAP.
LXVIII.

1834.

ference to other supposed measures, which might or might not be connected with that under discussion : in the course of his argument, he asked, what could be more inconsistent and unjust, than the practice now prevailing at Cambridge, where dissenters were admitted so far as instruction was concerned, but excluded from every thing to which instruction ought to lead ? They were admitted to the fullest and most complete course of study, until the twelfth term ; when, on being brought into fair competition with their fellow-students, the odious principle of exclusion intervened ; and the dissenter was told, that however obedient he had been to college regulations, however high the eminence he had acquired, still he would not be allowed the badge or symbol of his acquirements, simply because he was a dissenter. He really thought, that so far from deteriorating or endangering the church establishment, the approximation of dissenters to its members in a course of education, might bring many within the pale of that church, who would otherwise continue to dissent from it ; and he denied that the mixture of persons differing in religious persuasions at Cambridge, had been injurious, either to the university, or any other institution of the country. The house had the benefit of experience ; for in Dublin dissenters were admitted to degrees, though excluded from fellowships, and all participation in the internal management of the university : and what mighty mischief had followed the admission ? Was the university less orthodox in its principles, or less a protestant foundation than before ? Had the zeal of its public instructors been lessened, or their sphere of usefulness narrowed, by this interference ? It had been said, that the dissenters ought to found universities of their own : he concurred in that argument ; but the English universities would not allow them to do so : when they proposed such a step, in order to educate the youth of their own persuasion, and reward them with those honors which the universities denied, and thus sought to secure to themselves aca-

demical honors and privileges ; the universities stepped forward, and said,—‘ We will not only exclude you from our own seats, but will also prevent you from enjoying the advantages and privileges of a university of your own.’ This double ground of exclusion and prohibition was what no one could defend.

CHAP.
LXVIII.

1834.

The colonial secretary was answered by Mr. Goulburn, who argued, that in proportion as the advocates of the bill enforced the danger of excluding dissenters, they rendered manifest the ruinous consequences of concession : if the dissenters deemed it so great a hardship to be deprived of the empty honor of a degree, what would they say, if they were admitted to degrees, and found a bar raised against their admission to college emoluments and distinctions ? When it was said by the right honorable gentleman, that Dublin afforded an example which they might safely follow, it was an unhappy one in itself, and unfairly stated : in Dublin, the degree conferred on its possessor no power of government, and on this point all the merits of the intended comparison turned : besides, an Irish member had a motion now on the order-book, requiring that dissenters should be placed on the same footing with members of the establishment, in respect to scholarships and fellowships in that university ; and his plea was, that, as we were about to admit dissenters to degrees in England, he saw no reason why dissenters in Ireland should not have the advantages which those degrees conferred in England. In speaking of the course pursued at Cambridge, the broad distinction had been forgotten ;—that a dissenter was not admitted as such, but as a member of the university willing to submit to its regulations ; and, till the period for taking his degree arrived, he followed the rules prescribed by that body : but, if he were brought to college openly as a dissenter, either he was absolved from the restraints of religious discipline, or was forced to proclaim his own hypocrisy. Under the proposed bill, every class of dissenters, Jews, Turks,

CHAP.
LXVIII.

1834.

infidels, Socinians, men of any denomination, would be admissible to degrees: it repealed *ipso facto*, all the statutes which regulated the internal government of colleges, and did away with all that religious attendance which had been justly lauded: now religious instruction should never be disjoined from general education; and there had been a time in our history, when opposite sentiments would have drawn down universal reprobation. The right honorable gentleman went on to show the evil consequences of a system of education without a religious test, drawn from foreign universities; and implored the house to abstain from depriving christianity of the advantages which it derived from the discipline and constitution of our own—from dissevering religion and learning.

Mr. Stanley said, that when the first Cambridge petition was presented, he had been disposed to concur in its prayer, so far as might be consistent with the safety of the established church: but he would not conceal his feeling, that the tone subsequently assumed, and the principles asserted by the dissenters, had tended to change in some respects his opinion, and rendered it necessary for the house to view the whole of their claims with more jealousy than before: still, he would vote for the principle of the bill; but not as declaring for a change in the system of university education. It was only in Oxford that subscription to the thirty-nine articles was required from a student entering the university: though a member of that university, he wished to see this part of the system altered; for he could not bring himself to believe in that gloss which had been put on it;—that such subscription was merely a matter of form; and that no real adhesion to those articles was implied, until the party was instructed in their meaning.

Sir Robert Peel, after a long speech, in which he characterised the bill as an enactment, intended to give to Jews, infidels, and atheists,—to the man who professed some religion, and to the man who professed

none,—a statutable right of demanding admission into our universities ; declared that, after a removal of all civil disabilities from dissenters, by the repeal of the corporation and test acts, and from Roman catholics, by the act of emancipation ; and after a vast change effected by the reform bill in the constitution of parliament, the question at last was, were we, or were we not, to maintain an established religion ? In all those measures of relief alluded to, there was no intimation, that they would lead to farther demands, and lay a foundation for ulterior claims : to concede the demands now made, he asserted, would not be for the advantage of the dissenters themselves ; to whom, as well as to all christians, the preservation of the established church was an inestimable benefit ; to protect them, as well from superstition on the one hand as from fanaticism on the other ; and secure to them and their posterity the decent observance of divine worship, and the substantial benefits of toleration, which could be secured only by such an establishment. What, he asked, constituted the union between church and state ? What was the essence of an established church ? What, but a legislative recognition of it on the part of the state ? Parliament, therefore, was intitled to say to the dissenters,—‘ With that legislative recognition you shall not interfere.’

Sir R. H. Inglis and lord Sandon also opposed the bill, which was supported by lord Althorp, who strenuously contended, that by such support he would be guilty of no hostile act against the established church : he maintained, that interference with divine worship was no necessary consequence of the bill, neither would it interfere with the education of members of the church of England ; for if it passed into a law, it would only intitle dissenters to take a degree without subscription to any articles of religion, or any declaration of faith ; neither investing them with fellowships, nor with the power of instructing youth : for the principle therefore of the bill he was prepared to vote ; and in committee all changes

CHAP.
LXVIII.

1834.

might be effected, for limiting that principle to the extent required : the house then divided, and the second reading was carried by 321 votes against 174. In the committee, the speaker gave his decided opposition to the principle of the bill ; and, some amendments having been made, it was read a third time, and passed on the twenty-eighth of July, by a majority of 164 against 75. The earl of Radnor took charge of the bill in the house of lords, where the arguments for and against it did not vary from those used in the commons, so as to render a detail of them necessary. The duke of Gloucester, chancellor of the university of Cambridge, after denouncing the bill, not only as uncalled for, but most unjust and mischievous, moved, as an amendment, that it be read that day six months : his royal highness was followed by the duke of Wellington, chancellor of Oxford, who argued forcibly on the same side. Lord chancellor Brougham supported the bill, because he thought it went to remove a practical grievance, without affecting the discipline of the universities, or the safety of the church ; and the discussion was closed by a long and ingenious speech from the bishop of Exeter ; when a division took place, and the amendment was carried by an overwhelming majority of 187, against 85 who voted for the second reading.

On this perplexing subject, it must be highly satisfactory to those who signed the first petition from Cambridge, to find their sentiments appreciated, and their judgment confirmed, by an eminent prelate, who has been raised to the episcopal bench, with the approbation of all parties, wherever his extended reputation for the instruction of youth, and for the advancement of a sound and religious education, has reached. Speaking of the difficulties involved in the question, he observes ;—‘ They are greater on several accounts at the sister university, than at that to which I more especially belong, owing to subscription to the articles being required at Oxford from all students at their admission : this not being requisite at Cambridge *in limine*, has opened a more general

access to that university ; and having known it above forty years, by actual residence, by frequent visits, and by constant communication with many of its tutors and heads of colleges, I must own, that I never knew or heard of any evil resulting from such facility : the sons of dissenters, of various denominations, have been, and now are, educated there, in the same lecture-rooms, submit to the same discipline and regulations, and attend the same chapel service, as those whose parents are of the established church : I have known the sons of unitarian ministers admitted to examination for the same degree, and fairly earn the same honors at those examinations, as the sons of clergymen of the establishment : so far, therefore, we must admit, that no invidious distinctions have been made, either in the instruction given, or in the rewards allotted to those who have profited by it : but surely it seems absurd to say to the dissenter, — We will allow you to attend our lectures, will examine you for a degree, and will assign to you, according to your proficiency and desert, such honors as we assign to our pupils of the established church ; but the degree itself, for which we examine, you shall not have, unless you subscribe yourself a member of the church of England. Really, if consistency be of any value, it is preserved with greater dignity by that university which proscribes admission, *in limine*, to all who do not subscribe the articles ; than by that, which tantalises, as it were, by admission and examination ; and then disappoints the very encouragement it has given, by withholding the fruit of those exertions which it has fostered and matured, at the very moment when it is to be gathered. On such grounds, therefore, had I been a resident member of the senate, I might have been induced to sign the Cambridge petition, which has been the source of so much discussion, and, I fear, of so much disunion. It is but honest to add, that the subsequent avowals of our dissenting brethren would have given me cause to repent such a proceeding, without having stipulated for certain restrictions, by way of security

CHAP. to ourselves, which I should not previously have
 LXVIII. thought necessary.' ¹⁷

1834.

As ministers had been aided greatly in the last elections by the dissenters, this was thought a very convenient time by that body to push their pretensions; and, as they considered their liability to church rates a pressing grievance, they procured a motion to be made in the house of commons, by Mr. Divett, to relieve them from this compulsory payment. The mover utterly disclaimed all intention of interfering with tithes; for though he conceived that men, who dissented from a religious establishment, ought not to be compelled to pay for its support, he was himself a churchman, and thought he was doing the church good service, by striving to remove that which created enemies against her. Other members enforced the statements which he had made on this point; and according to them, the dissenters had become so formidable in numbers, that if practical grievances were not removed, the established church would possess little security. Lord Althorp stated, that as he had himself given notice of a motion on this subject, and did not think the present a desirable occasion to adopt the principle contained in the resolution, he should move the previous question; but Mr. Divett expressed himself willing to wait for the appearance of the ministerial plan, and withdrew his motion. On the twenty-first of April, therefore, his lordship brought forward that plan, in the shape of a resolution, 'that after a fixed time, church rates should cease; and in lieu thereof, a sum, not exceeding £250,000, should be granted from the land-tax, to be applied as parliament might direct.' His intention, he said, was to provide for the fabrics of the church, while he relieved the dissenters: this scheme, however, did not suit their views; and their friends immediately attacked it with unmeasured violence, led on by Mr. Hume, who moved, that all the words

¹⁷ Charge delivered to the clergy of the archdeaconry of Derby, June the twenty-sixth, 1834, by the Rev. S. Butler, D.D., F.R.S., now bishop of Lichfield and Coventry.

in the resolution should be expunged, except those which declared, 'that church rates should cease and determine.' The proposal, they said, was a contemptible juggle, founded on the old financial principle, that if money were taken out of the pockets of the people by indirect means, they would not be sensible of their loss: the friends of the establishment also objected to the plan, because it questioned the rights of the church, infringing on some of them, and left others on a less sure foundation than before. At a division, indeed, the motion was carried by a majority of 256 against 140; but government determined to proceed no farther with the proposed measure: churchmen, however, considered that one advantage was gained, in the dissenters having been brought to disclose, somewhat prematurely, the real purposes which they had in view, and to proclaim opinions tending to the complete abolition of a religious establishment.

CHAP.
LXVIII.

1834.

Ministers were equally unfortunate in another attempt to gratify the dissenters, by allowing them to celebrate the marriage ceremony in their own chapels, and thus escape what they called a grievous oppression,—the necessity of being married according to the rites of the establishment: a bill to this effect, brought in by lord John Russell, was refused, principally on the ground, that it required the bans to be published in a parish church; which, they said, involved a principle, that degraded them below their fellow-subjects.

The commutation of tithes in England was a subject still more complicated and difficult; for it involved so many interests of different kinds, and so many details requiring minute attention and technical precision, that the adjustment of any fair and complete plan was a work requiring much time, patience, and circumspection. In moving a resolution to this effect, lord Althorp set out with two propositions, which he thought

CHAP.
LXVIII.

1834.

could not reasonably be denied ;—‘ first, that whatever difference of opinion might exist as to the abstract right of tithes, they did not belong to the landlord ; secondly, that the revenues of the established church were not larger than its purposes required : tithes therefore must be treated as property belonging to the church ; and consequently they could not be taken away without a fair equivalent. Doubtless, it was often said, that if a fair equivalent was substituted, no relief would be granted to the occupier of the land : but this was a mistake ; for there was in the mode of collection a source of irritation, with occasions of unpleasant collision, which would be avoided by commutation : beside this, the owners and occupiers of the soil would be actually benefited ; for where they had laid out their capital in its cultivation, they were often losers by the tithes being taken in kind.’ After these just and pertinent observations, his lordship proceeded to develop his plan ; but the principles and details of the proposed method of commutation were found to be so little palatable either to the clergy or the landholders, that the measure was dropped for the present.

Poor-laws
amendment
act.

One act, however, was carried this session, which is sufficient to signalise the administration under whose auspices it was brought forward. Soon after their accession to office, the present ministers had appointed a commission of inquiry into the state and operation of the poor-laws, as more likely to be effective than any parliamentary committee : these commissioners had made their report, and an abstract of the valuable evidence which they had taken had been printed in the course of the preceding session. That report impressed government with a strong conviction of the necessity of interference ; which was maintained on the ground, that the present administration of those laws tended directly and indirectly to the destruction of all property ; whilst even to the laboring classes, whom they had been intended to benefit, nothing could be more fatal

than their continued operation. It was the abuse of the system, rather than the system itself, which was to be reprehended : its worst faults indeed were scarcely older than the beginning of the present century, and had originated in measures intended for the benefit of those, to whose welfare they were now most destructive : a feeling at that period extensively prevailed, that great discontent existed among the working classes ; and a principle of legislation was adopted, in the thirty-sixth of George III., which, though very humane and well-intended, was found to produce the most baneful consequences : this principle was, that the relief to paupers ought to be given in such a manner, as to place them in a situation of comfort. Now, however desirable it might be to place all our countrymen in such a situation ; yet to give relief in the manner prescribed by this statute, was the duty of private charity, and ought not to be provided for by a compulsory rate : the effect of the law was to empower the magistrates to order relief to the poor in their own dwellings ; and the principle, being followed up, led from bad to worse, until all feelings of independence on the part of the laborers had been nearly extinguished ; and, instead of paupers being placed in a state of comfort, the whole laboring population, in many districts, had been brought into a state of deplorable misery and distress.

The dangers incurred by leaving matters as they stood were so great and imminent, that although the length of time, during which this system had been going on, rendered caution requisite, it was absolutely necessary to meet the difficulties of the case, adopt sounder principles, and carry them unflinchingly into execution : in fact, there were already examples to be followed ; for in about 100 parishes, the evils of the existing system had compelled the inhabitants to adopt an improved mode of administration : in every instance the experiment had succeeded ; while, under the old plan, even the

CHAP.
LXVIII.

1834.

cultivation of the soil, in some places, had been abandoned ; so heavy was the pressure of the rates, and so great the evils of mismanagement : the consequence was, that the support of their poor was thrown on the neighboring parishes ; these too would soon be reduced to a similar state ; and thus pauperism would stride with increasing rapidity through the land. It was from the nature of this growing mischief, and the necessity of checking it, that lord Althorp, when he brought forward the scheme of government on the seventeenth of April, defended the principle of entrusting the poor-laws to a board of commissioners : he admitted that it was an anomalous mode of legislation, and that the board would be invested with extraordinary powers ; but this was rendered unavoidable by the necessity of the case. Our limits will not permit us to enter at large into the details of this most important bill ; but it may be sufficient to notice its leading principles : these were,—to stop the system of allowances, or the making up artificially depressed wages out of the poor's-rate ; to deprive magistrates of the power of ordering out-door relief to paupers ; to alter, in certain cases, the constitution of parish vestries ; to give large discretionary powers to the central commissioners ; to simplify the law of settlement and removal ; to render the mother of an illegitimate child liable to support it ; and, for its aliment, to save from imprisonment the putative father, to whom she might swear it. In the debates on this measure, a few obstinate voices were raised against it, as against all kinds of alteration : many objections were made, especially to the powers of the central board, and to the bastardy clause, which, throwing all the burden on the mother, became an inducement to infanticide : but the chancellor of the exchequer argued, in reply, that nothing had been stated, which could be regarded as an ostensible reason for not going into committee, where all matters which had been noticed would be open to consideration.

The second reading was carried by the immense majority of 319 to 20; some clauses were modified, and others added, in the committee; and on the first of July the bill was passed by 187 votes against 52.

CHAP.
LXVIII.

1834.

In the house of lords this bill found its most violent opponent in lord Wynford, who at the second reading moved, as an amendment, that it be read that day six months; not, however, on the ground, that there was nothing in the administration of the poor-laws that required correction, but because he conceived that the remedies proposed were partly unnecessary and partly inefficient; while some were oppressive and tyrannical: besides, he thought there was not sufficient time remaining to discuss so intricate and important a question during the present session. The earl of Winchelsea, however, as well as the dukes of Richmond and Wellington, supported the second reading, though they did not approve all the provisions in the bill: the latter thought it was the duty of their lordships to avoid procrastination, and without farther delay proceed with a measure, which, if necessary at all, was necessary now: the division gave seventy-six peers for the second reading, and only thirteen against it. In committee, the central board was strongly attacked, especially by lord Wynford; but the lord chancellor, the duke of Wellington, and lord Winchelsea contended for its necessity. The bishop of Exeter pleaded eloquently in behalf of the unfortunate mother of an illegitimate child, and wished to make the father equally liable to its maintenance; or the survivor, in case of the death of either; but he was answered by his brother of London, who himself had been one of the commissioners; as well as by the lord chancellor, who contended that the law, as it yet stood, encouraged a detestable crime, second only to murder;—that of wilful and corrupt perjury: at the third reading of the bill, however, an amendment was

CHAP.
LXVIII.

1834.

made in this clause, to recover money from the putative father, when the mother was unable to maintain the child : alterations also were effected in the allowance-system, and the provision of settlement ; the prohibition of out-door relief was mitigated ; and various other changes were introduced : but when lord Althorp, on the eleventh of August, moved the commons to agree to the amendments of the peers, a counter amendment was moved, that they should be read that day six months : this proposal was chiefly supported by those who were opposed to the bill altogether, or wished it to be delayed till next session ; but his lordship observed, that if the bill did not pass this session, he would be a bold man who should try it the next. The amendment, therefore, was rejected by a large majority ; and every alteration of the lords was agreed to, except that which expunged the provision, intitling dissenting clergymen to enter workhouses, for the purpose of giving religious instruction to inmates of their own persuasion : this was said to be a violation of the principle of religious liberty, and an insult to that small portion of good feeling toward dissenters which existed in the upper house. Thus was the great experiment of a revision and alteration of the poor-laws happily commenced : that it would please all parties, especially those whose condition it more immediately affected, who could expect ? that many cases of great individual hardship must occur, is a matter greatly to be lamented ; and, on this account, the remedial powers placed in the central board are peculiarly necessary : on the proper and humane exercise of those powers much will depend ; for the complaints of the poor have been basely seized on and encouraged by designing men, as means to serve political purposes ; and if a general election were soon to take place, the ministers, by whom this patriotic measure was carried, would find it used as a very powerful instrument in opposition to their interests.

From the great change effected in the poor-laws, no class of men could eventually expect greater relief than the owners and occupiers of land : these, however, looked after means of alleviating the depression under which they labored, more immediate and direct in operation. The subject of agricultural distress was brought before the house of commons, in February, by the marquis of Chandos ; who, after ably stating both the local and general causes of the evil, moved a resolution, ‘ that in any reduction of national burdens by the remission of taxes, due regard be shown to that distress of the agriculturists, which had been alluded to in the speech from the throne.’ The chancellor of the exchequer, however, though he admitted the distress complained of by the agriculturists, contended that it was wrong to hold, that they derived no relief from what had been granted to the other interests of the country : the greatest relief which could be given to farmers would be that which affected the general body of the community ; and to show that, wherever the reduction of taxes or imposts benefited manufactures or commerce, it had also aided agriculture, he instanced the price of wool, which had risen from nine pence to two shillings per pound : he could not agree, that the diminution or abolition of any particular impost would meet the agricultural distress which now prevailed : the small taxes payable by occupiers of land might be vexatious ; but they did not press heavily on them ; and far greater benefit would accrue from placing the poor-rates on a better footing, than from lightening the weight of direct taxation. Several other members spoke against the resolution, not meaning to deny that the agriculturists were suffering, but considering the resolution as not likely to lead to any result ; while the means alluded to by those who supported it appeared neither efficient nor just. The supporters of the motion, again, were far from being of one mind, as to the manner in which relief ought to be afforded : most of them required the repeal of the malt-tax ; others looked to an

CHAP.
LXVIII.

1834.

alteration in the currency of the country ; and Mr. O'Connell boldly proposed at once to attack the national debt ; declaring, that this wisest of nations had ruined the currency one-half, in order to pay with thirty shillings in the pound money borrowed at twenty shillings in the pound : when, however, he talked of the 'cant of national faith,' he called forth general indignation from the house, but more especially from Sir Robert Peel, who declared that the honorable gentleman had decided the question respecting a repeal of the union by that preliminary declaration.

As to the motion itself, it implied nothing inconsistent with public faith ; for the chancellor of the exchequer had asserted, incautiously and prematurely, that the national revenue was extremely prosperous ; and that, accordingly, he held a certain sum applicable to the remission of taxes : he had also observed, that although his own inclination leaned towards a remission of the house-tax, yet he would not repeal that impost ; but advised each party to consider the matter, and urge its own particular claims. On a division, the resolution was lost by a majority of only four in a very full house ; and this success induced the noble mover to bring forward the subject again on the seventh of July, in the form of an address to the king. In the course of the discussion that ensued, it was declared, that unless the farmers were relieved, so as to enable them to support the poor, it would be altogether impossible for the magistrates, lay or clerical, to maintain peace in the rural districts. The motion was resisted, on the ground of its being inconvenient, at so advanced a period, to disturb the financial arrangements ; but the chancellor of the exchequer held out a prospect of some slight alleviations, such as a removal of the tax from shepherds' dogs, as well as that from windows in farm-houses below a certain amount ; and on a division, ministers had a majority of sixteen.

On the seventeenth of March, the question of the

malt duty was brought directly before the house by a motion of Mr. Cobbett, one of the members for Oldham, 'that it should cease and determine from and after the fifth of October following.' The grounds on which he justified this proposal were—the great number of persons engaged in, or dependent on agriculture, who were affected by the tax; the expense of collection; the monopoly which it created; and, more especially, its pernicious influence on morals, by preventing the laborer from brewing his own beer, and thus driving him to the ale-house: the motion, however, was resisted, chiefly on the ground, that it would unsettle all the financial measures of the country, and diminish the revenue by £5,000,000, for which no substitute was or could be proposed.

CHAP.
LXVIII.
1834.

But while the agriculturists were thus demanding relief, the corn-laws were not only insisted on, as an answer to all complaints, by those who maintained a different interest; but were themselves made a subject of formal attack. On the sixth of March, Mr. Hume opened a discussion, which lasted that and the following day, by moving for 'a committee of the whole house, to take into consideration the corn-laws, (ninth of George IV. c. 60) in order to substitute, instead of the present graduated scale, a fixed and moderate duty on the import of foreign corn at all times into the united kingdom; also to grant an equivalent bounty on the export of corn, with the ultimate view of establishing a free trade in that article.' It is impossible to give even an outline of the arguments used on both sides of this complicated question, on which several of the members most interested in agriculture voted with the mover, who traced all the existing distress found in the country to the want of employment; this, again, he ascribed to the obstacles which the corn-laws presented to the consumption of manufactures, by raising the price of production, and impeding their export to countries willing to take them in return

CHAP.
LXVIII.

1834.

for corn. Till about 1770, he said, England had been a country exporting grain : since then, the population had nearly doubled itself ; and that increase had taken place chiefly in our manufacturing districts : now there was no mode of supporting this population, but by enabling us to supply with those manufactures every part of the world, which would take them for what they could give in return : agriculture could only support a limited number of laborers ; but the laborers would increase ; and unless increasing manufactures were at hand to afford employment, they would be thrown back on the land, and eat up its whole produce, leaving no rent for the landlord : he took it for granted, that the produce of our soil had reached, or nearly reached, its utmost limit ; but that our manufacturing population was increasing, might be seen by the increase of exports.

The defence of the corn-laws, he said, had always rested mainly on the necessity of protecting the agricultural interest ; but to that interest they were decidedly injurious : the object of the act of 1815, which might almost be said to have passed at the point of the bayonet, had been to keep the price of corn steady ; but had it effected its purpose ? No : look at the variations which had taken place since that period, running up and down within the limits of forty per cent, such as no provisions could guard against : so that, instead of being advantageous, this act had been really injurious to the agriculturists : the landlord suffered under it, and the farmer was obliged to pay the amount even of a reduced rent out of his capital, until he at length became a bankrupt ; while the rest of the community were starved through the artificial want thus produced : so uncertain indeed and mischievous was this law found in its operation, that since 1815 twelve acts had been passed, violating its provisions in order to meet emergencies. Another important consideration was the effect which such laws had on our commercial

relations with other countries : it had been clearly proved, that the virtual exclusion of our manufactures from the American ports, which had caused so much suffering here, was owing to our refusal to admit American corn ; in revenge for which they had passed the tariff bill : Prussia, too, finding that we would not take her timber and corn, had shut us out from a great portion of Europe for the last ten years, and had now enlisted Germany in her views : none of our manufactures could penetrate there, except such as were contraband and smuggled : on every sound principle, therefore, the system should be changed for one that would give steady prices, and at the same time permit free commercial intercourse.

Many and strong were the objections made to this course of proceeding ; but it will be sufficient to mention one. Mr. Hume had admitted, that his proposal would reduce rents thirty per cent ; and he spoke advisedly when he said, that two-thirds of the landed property of England would at once change hands : now, it could not be beneficial to the state that so great an act of injustice as this should take place : hard indeed had been the fate of landholders under the operation of Peel's bill, which had already transferred no small share of the land into the hands of the fundholders, and reduced numerous families, who had pecuniary engagements on their estates, from opulence to beggary : but this would increase the evil to an overwhelming extent ; for it would be equivalent to an agrarian law.

Lord Althorp said, he should meet the motion with a direct negative, though his opinions were favorable to an alteration of the existing system. On a division, it was rejected by a majority of 312 against 155 ; though the subject was again incidentally discussed, for three mornings, when a petition was presented from Liverpool in favor of free trade, especially that of corn. On this occasion, Sir Robert

CHAP.
LXVIII.

1834.

Peel argued, at great length, on the injustice which would thence accrue to owners and cultivators of the soil, in consideration, not only of the peculiar burdens to which they were subject, but of the protection actually given to manufacturing interests; for the monopoly, with which the agriculturist had been taunted, consisted merely in that sort of protection which was afforded to almost every article of British manufacture, by the imposition of a duty on articles manufactured abroad. On the other hand, Sir Henry Parnell declared, that the pretext of farmers being interested in a continuance of the corn laws, was a gross delusion, practised on them by the landlords; for whose sole advantage the whole community was taxed: this doctrine, however, did not find many supporters; for it would be a still harder case to ruin all the landlords for the benefit of the country.

Those concerned in the shipping interest also complained loudly of distress, which they considered as caused or aggravated by the admission of foreign ships into our ports, on the same terms as those on which our vessels were admitted into theirs; an admission, which the crown had the power of conceding, under the fourth of George IV. c. 77, commonly called 'the reciprocity of duties act.' Many petitions for its repeal were presented; and, on the fifth of June, Mr. G. F. Young moved for leave to bring in a bill for that purpose; but the motion was resisted by ministers, and thrown out by 117 votes against 52.

Financial
statements.

The financial affairs of the present year, notwithstanding the distress of the country, exhibited a very encouraging aspect; for the chancellor of the exchequer, after providing for the interest on the £20,000,000 granted to West India proprietors, had a disposable surplus of £1,620,000; but from various alterations about to be made in the state of taxation, with respect to spirits and beer, the estimated surplus might be taken at £1,815,000: on the faith of this,

the following reductions were made: in the house-tax, to be wholly abolished, £1,200,000; customs, £200,000; starch, £75,000; stone bottles and sweets, £6000; almanacks, £25,000; small assessed taxes, £75,000; whilst a surplus was still left, amounting to the sum of £234,000.

CHAP.
LXVIII.

1834.

An important measure of finance was attempted this session, in a plan for the reduction of the four per cent annuities, created in 1826: all holders of that stock, who should not signify their dissent, were to have, for every £100, three and a half per cent in a new stock, to be consolidated with the existing three and a half per cent annuities, which were not liable to redemption before January, 1840. The dissentients amounted to a greater number than had been anticipated; and, in order to provide funds for paying them off, a resolution was passed, on the seventh of June, authorising the commissioners of the national debt to pay them out of the monies, stocks, or exchequer bills, which they held under 'the saving banks act;' while the dissented stock should, from the tenth of October following, be considered as converted into an equal amount of new three and a half per cents, which were to be vested in the commissioners, and placed in the Bank books to the account intitled 'funds for the banks of savings.'

The distress felt at this time by all classes of the community was dexterously made use of by the opponents of ministers to render their administration unpopular; so that they became exposed to great inconvenience from a statutory rule of the constitution, which requires, that all members of the house of commons, who accept certain offices under the crown, shall vacate their seats, and take the chance of a re-election: in more instances than one, the candidate thus stamped with the approbation of government, had not been re-elected; and even the attorney-general, having by his promotion lost his seat for Dudley, was unable to appear in the house of com-

Difficulties
of ministers.

CHAP.
LXVIII.

1834.

mons. This was the first practical grievance experienced under the reform act, which had swept away all the close boroughs, without any exception, and provided no means to compensate the loss : such a state of affairs, therefore, induced Sir Robert Heron, without the concurrence or knowledge of ministers, to move for leave to bring in a bill, which might obviate the necessity of members vacating their seats under the circumstances above mentioned. He argued, that prior to the passing of the reform bill, it was necessary that the people should have it in their power to exercise an influence over the crown in the appointment of its ministers ; but, since the system of representation had been so much improved, such a check was not only unnecessary, but embarrassing to the free exercise of the royal prerogative : the decisions of the people were frequently rash ; and the object of his measure was to guard against the evils of any temporary excitement on the part of constituencies ; for no man could now be certain of a return to parliament, unless the general policy of ministers happened to accord with the sentiments of the people. Mr. E. L. Bulwer, being dissatisfied with this reasoning, proposed a plan allowing ministers to hold seats in virtue of their official situations ; when there could be no local or temporary causes for not selecting the ablest men : the balance of interests in the cabinet could be at any time adjusted ; and there would be a more complete exemption from the undue influence of particular constituencies. Dr. Lushington and Mr. Ward opposed both propositions, as taking from the people one of the most valuable privileges given to them by the constitution, merely for the purpose of consulting the convenience and safety of the party now in power. Lord Althorp, after assuring the house that this subject had been introduced without the sanction of government, did not hesitate to say that ministers had been put to great inconvenience ; but, on the whole, he thought the time was not yet come,

CHAP.
LXVIII.

1834.

when a measure like that proposed should be pressed on the house: both the motion and the amendment, therefore, were withdrawn. On the fifteenth of August, his majesty prorogued parliament; alluding in his speech with satisfaction to the numerous and important questions that had engaged its attention; more especially to the poor-laws, and the establishment of a central court for the trial of offences in the metropolis and its vicinity; while he directed attention to the important subjects of our jurisprudence and municipal corporations: he lamented the still unsettled state of Holland and Belgium;¹⁸ but expressed a lively satisfaction at the termination of the civil war which had so long disgraced the kingdom of Portugal; rejoicing that the state of affairs in the peninsula had induced him to conclude with the king of the French, the queen-regent of Spain, and the regent of Portugal, that quadripartite treaty, which had materially contributed to produce so happy a result. Events, however, had since occurred in Spain, to disappoint, for a time, those hopes of tranquillity in that country, which the pacification of Portugal had inspired.

Before the prorogation of parliament, the weakness of ministers, deserted by earl Grey, attacked on all sides by the tories, and abused even by their

¹⁸ The foreign policy of our government, in giving encouragement, or rather offering no opposition, to the dismemberment of the united kingdom of the Netherlands, has been made a subject of so much party vituperation, that a few words on it here may not seem out of place. Few greater faults were committed, at the end of the war, by the Castlereagh school of politicians, as regarded the commercial interests of Great Britain, than that of forming the junction alluded to. No country possesses greater advantages for manufactures, in its coal beds, its canals, its institutions, and the spirit of its people, than Belgium; whilst Holland is almost unrivalled in fine ports, rivers, ships, colonies, and commercial speculation: each state therefore was peculiarly adapted to the other; and during the union, their combined wealth and prosperity advanced with a rapid progress, diminishing our trade with many European states, and actually annihilating it in several parts of the East. The bigotry and obstinacy of the Dutch monarch, forming a strong contrast to the liberal and just views of his high-minded heir, at length produced a separation, which nothing is likely to heal. Revenge appears now to be the ruling principle among the Dutch, who aim at the ruin of Belgium by every means in their power; and although in this latter country there exists a large party anxious for the restoration of a union which was so productive of mutual advantages, yet the alliance formed by its present monarch with the French court is well calculated to secure the stability of his throne.

CHAP.
LXVIII.

1834.

Dissolution
of the cabi-
net.

supporters, the radicals and Irish agitators, had become very apparent. Between the end of the session and the month of October, Mr. O'Connell addressed a series of letters to lord Duncannon, in which every species of vituperation was heaped on the whig government; whilst in England, a journal, which had been long conducted with pre-eminent ability, beginning to change its line of politics, drew public attention strongly to a remarkable course of proceedings exhibited by lord Brougham, highly calculated to bring his colleagues into contempt. The death of earl Spencer, taking place on the tenth of November, hastened that dissolution of the cabinet, which could not have been long delayed. As this event removed lord Althorp to the house of peers, it was requisite to find a new chancellor of the exchequer, and a new leader of the house of commons: on Friday, therefore, the fourteenth, lord Melbourne waited on the king, for the purpose of submitting to him some changes in official appointments which earl Spencer's death had rendered necessary: it had, however, long been known, that his majesty entertained no affection toward the present administration; and, yielding to the influence of those around him, he thought the time was now arrived in which he might safely dismiss them: accordingly, having expressed, as it was said, his opinion, that lord Brougham could no longer hold the great seal, as well as his dissatisfaction with the selection of those members of the cabinet who were to frame the Irish church bill, he announced to lord Melbourne that he would not impose on him the task of completing official arrangements, but would make application to the duke of Wellington: on the following day, therefore, his grace waited on the king, and advised him to entrust the government to Sir Robert Peel; but, as that statesman, little expecting the honor about to be thrust on him, had departed from England to Rome, the duke offered to carry on the public business till his return: this course was adopted; and, as a temporary arrangement, his grace was ap-

pointed first lord of the treasury, and also sworn in as one of the principal secretaries of state. On the twenty-first, lord Lyndhurst took the oaths as chancellor; but did not resign the office of lord chief baron: lord Brougham, therefore, who had started on a continental tour, wrote to him from France, proposing himself as a candidate for that office, which he offered to accept without any salary in addition to his retiring pension: to this lord Lyndhurst returned a courteous answer, signifying, that no arrangements could be made till the return of Sir Robert Peel; and a few days afterwards, lord Brougham, understanding how his proposal had been commented on by his own party, withdrew the request.

CHAP.
LXVIII.

1834.

On the ninth of December, the son of a cotton-spinner, for whom the king had sent to Rome, that he might make him prime minister of England,¹⁹—a man, under whom the great duke, the conqueror of Napoleon, was willing to serve, — arrived in London; and on the same day, had an audience of his majesty, to receive the reins of government. One of his first measures was a proposition to lord Stanley²⁰ and Sir James Graham, that they should become members of the new administration; but they both declined pledging themselves to the extent to which they might be considered bound by such a step; nor did a long time elapse, before it was seen, that the tories had been too precipitate in pushing their party back to office: however, it was certain that a new parliament must be assembled; and, until that time, they would at all events possess the sweets of patronage.

Sir Robert
Peel prime
minister.

By the end of December every official arrangement was completed: lord Lyndhurst retained his place; the earl of Roslyn became president of the council; lord Wharncliffe, privy-seal; the duke of

¹⁹ This was the just boast, and high tribute paid to the constitution of his country, by Sir Robert himself, in a speech at Merchant Tailors' Hall, on the eleventh of May, 1835.

²⁰ He had succeeded to this title by the death of his grandfather, the earl of Derby.

CHAP.
LXVIII.

1835.

Wellington secretary for foreign affairs, Mr. Goulburn for the home department, and lord Aberdeen for the colonies : Mr. A. Baring was made president of the board of trade ; Sir G. Murray, master-general of the ordnance ; Sir E. Knatchbull, paymaster of the forces ; earl de Grey, first lord of the admiralty ; and lord Ellenborough, president of the board of control : lord Maryborough, the earls of Jersey and Roden, Mr. C. Wynne, and Mr. Herries came also into office : Mr. F. Pollock and Mr. Follett were made attorney and solicitor-general ; the earl of Haddington went as viceroy to Ireland, with Sir E. Sugden as the lord chancellor, and Sir H. Hardinge as chief secretary : Sir James Scarlett now received the reward of his adhesion to a tory administration ; being appointed to succeed lord Lyndhurst as chief baron of the exchequer, with the title of lord Abinger.

Every man of any penetration saw that this ministry had too much of the old leaven to stand at present : Sir Robert, however, who was determined to let the reform bill have fair play, did not despair ; but immediately expounded the principles on which he designed to conduct the government, in a long address to his constituents at Tamworth. After observing, that he would not accept power on the condition of declaring himself an apostate from the principles on which he had heretofore acted ; and declaring, at the same time, that neither before nor after the reform bill, had he been a defender of abuses, or an enemy to judicious reforms ; he thus alluded to that great alterative which had been applied to the constitution : — ‘ With respect to the reform bill itself, I will repeat now, the declaration which I made when I entered the house of commons as a member of the reformed parliament, — that I consider that act as a final and irrevocable settlement of a great constitutional question ; — a settlement, which no friend to the peace and welfare of his country would attempt to disturb, either by direct or indirect means.’ Again, after deprecating

such a use of the reform bill, as would lead to a perpetual vortex of agitation, and to the overthrow of ancient rights and institutions, he thus proceeded :—‘ If the spirit of the bill implies merely a careful review of institutions, civil and ecclesiastical, undertaken in a friendly temper; combining, with the firm maintenance of established rights, a correction of proved abuses, and a redress of real grievances;—in that case, I can, for myself and my colleagues, undertake to act in such a spirit, and with such intentions.’ Most persons gave due credit to Sir Robert for patriotism and sincerity in these professions; but he stood isolated in his own administration: few had that confidence, which he himself professed to have, in its other members; and it was not destined long to endure: on the thirtieth of December a proclamation was issued, dissolving the parliament, and convoking a new one, to meet on the nineteenth of February, 1835.

CHAP.
LXVIII.

1835.

The early part of the new year was occupied by as determined a struggle between political parties as ever occurred in our history: the tories had placed their all on this cast of the die; the Carlton club dispersed its agents far and wide throughout the country; and every engine which aristocratic wealth and ecclesiastical influence could put in motion, was employed in gaining adherents to the conservative cause, and defeating the hopes of its adversaries. In the counties, the £50 clause operated greatly to their advantage, and success generally attended their efforts; but, in the towns, the opposite party had been more attentive to the registration of voters; the middle classes were not willing, that the power with which they had so lately been invested, should be endangered by a tory administration; the radicals made extraordinary efforts to assist the whigs, wherever they had no candidate of their own principles to support; while Scotland and Ireland showed that they had not received the reform bill as a dead letter, but were determined to emancipate themselves, to the utmost extent pos-

General
election.

CHAP.
LXVIII.

1835.

sible, from a yoke under which they had so long groaned.

Before the meeting of parliament, there appeared in the London Gazette of the third of February, an article, announcing that the king had been pleased to direct letters patent to issue under the great seal, appointing the archbishop of Canterbury, the lord chancellor, the archbishop of York, the earl of Harrowby, the bishops of London, Lincoln, and Gloucester, the right honorable Sir Robert Peel, H. Goulburn, C. W. W. Wynne, H. Hobhouse, and Sir Herbert Jenner, commissioners 'for considering the state of the several dioceses in England and Wales, with reference to the amount of their revenues, to the more equal distribution of episcopal duties, and to the prevention of the necessity of attaching, by commendam, to bishopricks, benefices with the cure of souls; for considering the state of the several cathedral and collegiate churches within the same, with a view to the suggestion of measures for rendering them more conducive to the efficacy of the established church; also for devising the best mode of providing for the cure of souls, with special reference to the residence of the clergy on their respective benefices.' Thus the administration of Sir Robert Peel began to the satisfaction of all honest and reflecting persons, except those who consider the intire revenue of the church unconditionally as private property, and every existing division of it as inalienable from its possessor and his successors for ever: these, however, formed but a small party; for an opinion seemed generally to prevail, that the early death of Edward VI. had left the reformation incomplete in England; and almost all who wished to see our established church preserved, rejoiced in the prospect of its purification, while they placed great confidence in the character and good intentions of those who were appointed to superintend this grand design.

Contest for
the office of
speaker.

Before the end of January, it had been announced, by the publication of a correspondence

between lord John Russell and Mr. Abercromby, that the latter gentleman would be proposed by opposition as speaker of the house of commons, the first day of session: on the other hand, it was known that ministers had in view the re-appointment of Sir Charles Manners Sutton; and as it was considered that this contest would afford a good indication of the strength of parties in the new house, it was looked forward to with anxious expectation; while strenuous efforts were made on both sides to bring up the whole force that each could command. The result was a larger assemblage of members on the nineteenth of February, the day for which parliament had been summoned, than had ever before been collected. The re-appointment of Sir Charles Manners Sutton was proposed by lord Francis Egerton, and seconded by Sir Charles Burrell; after which, Mr. W. J. Denison proposed Mr. Abercromby, and Mr. W. Ord seconded the motion. A debate of considerable length ensued, in which the principal speakers, beside the two candidates, were, for the motion of lord Francis Egerton, lord Stanley and Sir Robert Peel; for that of Mr. Denison, lord John Russell: about six o'clock the house divided, when the numbers appeared to be 306 in favor of Sir Charles Manners Sutton, and 316 for Mr. Abercromby; a result, which was received with loud cheers by the majority: the honorable gentleman was then conducted to the chair; and next day, appearing at the bar of the house of lords, he received from the lord chancellor an assurance of his majesty's approval of the choice made by the commons.

CHAP.
LXVIII.

1835.

Friday, Saturday, and Monday were employed in the administration of the oaths to members; and on Tuesday, the twenty-fourth, his majesty came in state to the house of peers to open the new parliament, under new local circumstances; for the two houses having been last year burned down by the carelessness of attendants in heating the flues, temporary rooms had been fitted up for the accommo-

Opening of
parliament.

CHAP.
LXVIII.

1835.

dition of the British senate. In reference to this catastrophe, his majesty observed, in his opening speech, 'that it was his wish to adopt such plans for the permanent accommodation of lords and commons, as should be deemed, on their joint consideration, most fitting and convenient.' After alluding to the flourishing state of trade and commerce, as well as of the public revenue, his majesty deeply lamented that depression under which the agricultural interest still labored, and earnestly recommended the consideration of it to parliament with a view to relief. Having adverted to various projected measures of domestic policy, such as the state of the Irish tithe question, the commutation of tithe in England and Wales, the improvement of civil jurisprudence and administration of justice in ecclesiastical causes, provision for the more effectual maintenance of ecclesiastical discipline, relief of dissenters in the marriage ceremony, together with the corporation and church commissions; his majesty expressed his confidence in the willing co-operation of parliament, as well as in their caution and circumspection regarding the alteration of laws affecting very extensive and complicated interests, interwoven with ancient usages, and conformable to the habits and feelings of his people.

The address of the lords in answer to the speech was carried without a division, though not without a debate of considerable length, which turned chiefly on the late change of administration: the principal speakers were lord Melbourne, the duke of Wellington, lord Brougham, and the chancellor; while the duke of Richmond and the earl of Ripon expressed their intention of supporting the new government, so far as they could applaud its measures, though they were unable to give it their confidence. The same evening, in the commons, an address was moved by lord Sandon, and seconded by Mr. Bramston; after which, lord Morpeth moved, 'that, in place of the two concluding paragraphs, should be substituted words, expressing a trust, that his ma-

jesty's councils would be directed in a spirit of well-considered and effective reform; that in the same liberal and comprehensive policy which had dictated the reform of our representation and the abolition of negro slavery, the municipal corporations would be placed under vigilant popular control; all the well-founded grievances of the protestant dissenters removed; and the abuses in the church, which impair its efficiency in England, and disturb the peace of society in Ireland, corrected; also representing to his majesty, that his faithful commons begged submissively to add, that they could not but lament, that the progress of these and other reforms should have been unnecessarily interrupted and endangered by the dissolution of the late parliament.' This amendment, being seconded by Mr. Bannerman, gave rise to a debate which lasted three nights: the chief speakers for the original address were, Messrs. Pemberton and Richards, Sir Robert Peel, lord Stanley, Messrs. Robinson, Goulburn, and Praed, Mr. serjeant Goulburn, and Sir James Graham; for the amendment, Messrs. Grote, Poulter, and Ward, Dr. Lushington, lord John Russell, Messrs. Harvey, Fox Maule, and Gisborne, lord Howick, Mr. T. Duncombe, and Mr. O'Connell. On a division, the opposition had a majority of seven in an assembly of 625 members; when Sir Robert Peel intimated that it was possible he might take the sense of the house again on the question of bringing up the report; but, next evening, he stated, that after having made due inquiries, he felt convinced he could not succeed in that measure: it was understood, indeed, that he would not have been supported in it by lord Stanley; who, in the course of the debate, declared that he would go the whole length of the amendment on the subject of corporation reform: his lordship also said, that the omission of any particular notice of that subject, in the speech from the throne, as well as in the exposition of ministerial intentions, which Sir Robert had given to the house, induced him to regard the

CHAP.
LXVIII.

1835.

government with a more jealous eye than he should otherwise have been inclined to view it. Lord Howick did not consider that the necessary effect of carrying the amendment would be to remove the present administration; for he should scarcely give the vote he intended to give, if it were likely to have that result; but though he did not desire the immediate retirement of Sir Robert Peel and his colleagues, he should regard it as a great calamity if the present government continued without any change.

On the twenty-eighth, when the order of the day was read for the house going into a committee of supply, the premier stated, in answer to questions put by lord John Russell, that he had not felt it his duty, in consequence of the vote on the address, to tender his resignation; that, with respect to the Irish church, he retained his opinion that ecclesiastical property ought not to be diverted from ecclesiastical purposes, although any measures, not inconsistent with this principle, should have his best consideration; that he had no motive or intention to obstruct corporation reform; and, finally, that in regard to a rumor which had been spread abroad about another dissolution, and an alleged intention of government, in case the mutiny bill should not pass, to keep up a standing army in defiance of parliament,—the first he never sanctioned, directly or indirectly; and about the second he never heard a whisper, until it fell from lord John Russell's own lips.

The following evening was occupied by discussions respecting the state of Ireland, and bribery at elections; but the sitting on Wednesday produced one of much greater importance to the stability of the administration: this arose from a question asked by Mr. Finn,—whether it was true that 182 addresses from Orange societies had been presented to the king on the twenty-sixth of February, and answers returned to the parties, stating that the addresses had been most graciously received? The

CHAP.
LXVIII.

1835.

question seemed to take ministers by surprise ; and the only defence they offered to the charge of returning such answers to associations alleged to be illegal, was, that the illegality of Orange lodges had never been judicially declared, and that the addresses had been received and answered merely according to the usual form. On the following Friday, Mr. Shiel moved for copies of the addresses alluded to ; also for a copy of a letter written by lord Manners, when chancellor of Ireland, relative to the illegality of Orange societies, and for the opinions of the Irish attorney and solicitor-general on the same point : the latter part of this motion was resisted by ministers, and eventually withdrawn ; but the production of the addresses and answers was agreed to.

On Tuesday, the tenth, in a very full house, the marquis of Chandos, pursuant to notice, proposed his resolution for the repeal of the malt tax : the debate that followed, in which the speech of Sir Robert Peel was worthy of all admiration, lasted till near one o'clock in the morning ; and when the house divided, the numbers were, for the resolution 192, against it 350. On this occasion, most of the adherents of the late ministry voted in the majority : Mr. Charles Wood declared he was happy to give the present government that support which he and his friends had received, in similar circumstances, from Sir Robert Peel. So powerful and convincing were the arguments of the premier on this occasion, that several members voted with him, who had either pledged themselves at their election to take a different side, or had, at least, induced their constituents to believe they would. This led Mr. Spring Rice to remark, very justly, that pledges were awful things : even when honestly meant, they might sometimes be given in ignorance, and could not be redeemed without a gross violation of duties which honorable members owed to the community at large.

Other important subjects, too numerous to notice,

CHAP.
LXVIII.

1835,

were brought under discussion ; among which, was one introduced by the attorney-general for the improvement of our ecclesiastical courts ; and an interesting debate took place on the appointment of lord Londonderry as ambassador to the court of Russia : this was considered as such an outrageous attack on continental freedom, such a furtherance of the designs of despotism and tyranny, such a confirmation of the foreign policy of the duke of Wellington and lord Aberdeen, that Mr. Shiel introduced the subject by a motion for an address to his majesty for a copy of the appointment. Lord Stanley having declared against ministers on the question, there was little doubt of their being left in a minority if they pressed the matter to a division : this course however they prudently declined ; and Sir Robert Peel stated, that, in fact, no formal appointment had been made ; though he certainly did not mean to recommend that the design should be persisted in. Lord Londonderry himself relieved ministers from their embarrassment, by voluntarily relinquishing the office.

On Tuesday, the seventeenth, the premier introduced his measure for the relief of persons dissenting from the established church, in regard to the celebration of marriage ; and obtained leave, with much satisfaction expressed on all sides of the house, to bring in a bill for carrying it into effect. On Thursday, the nineteenth, the chancellor laid on the table of the house of lords the first report of the commissioners appointed to inquire into the state of the established church ; and on the Friday following, Sir H. Hardinge, in the commons, brought forward, in a committee of the whole house, the ministerial plan for settling the Irish tithe question. It involved the following particulars :—that, in future, Irish tithes be recoverable only from the chief landlord, or person having the first estate of inheritance in the land ; that the owner be intitled to demand only seventy-five per cent on the amount to which he at present has a right ; that the tithe be re-

deemable by the landlord at twenty years' purchase, calculated on the diminished rate; that the proceeds thus arising be invested in land or otherwise, for the benefit of the tithe-owners; present incumbents to be indemnified against any loss accruing in the amount of their incomes below the seventy-five per cent, but their successors to receive only the income, whatever it may be, which the investment might produce; that all litigation for the recovery of tithes due be carried on through the incorporated commissioners of the ecclesiastical fund; that the repayment of sums granted under the million act be not called for; but that the residue of that sum be farther distributed among tithe-owners, in lieu of tithes due to them for the year 1834, which they may not have been able to collect.

A long debate followed the proposal of these resolutions. Lord John Russell contended that, in principle, they were perfectly identical with the bill introduced last session by the late ministers, and which had been thrown out in the house of lords by the present government and their friends: his lordship said, that of course he had no opposition to offer against the measure. Mr. O'Connell, on the contrary, endeavored to show that the two plans were intirely dissimilar: in point of fact, the main distinctions between them appeared to be, that the bill of last session made to landlords a present of two-fifths of the tithes, or of £40 in every £100; securing to the clergyman seventy-seven and a half per cent of his legal income, and bringing an annual charge, equal to seventeen and a half per cent of the whole tithes, on the consolidated fund; while it was now proposed to give the landlords only one fourth of the tithes; to secure to the clergyman only seventy-five per cent of his legal income; and to devolve no charge on the consolidated fund: in the course of the debate, such strong objections were taken to the clauses dispensing with the repayment of the sums distributed, and to be dis-

CHAP.
LXVIII.

1835.

tributed, under the million act, that ministers consented to withdraw them. On the twenty-third, the report of the committee was brought up, and the bill, embodying those resolutions which had been agreed to, was read a first time; when Sir R. Peel intimated, that he should move for the re-insertion of the rejected clauses relating to the million act, when the measure had arrived at a subsequent stage: in the course of a conversation which arose out of this subject, Mr. Barron denounced, what he described as inconsistency and abandonment of principle in Sir R. Peel and his colleagues, whom he charged with being merely actuated by a base desire of office: for these expressions, the honorable member was directed by the speaker to apologise to the house; which he accordingly did. Mr. Finn then brought forward his motion for a select committee to inquire into the nature, extent, and tendency of Orange lodges; which was agreed to without a division.

On Tuesday the twenty-fourth, in the house of lords, a select committee was appointed, on the motion of the duke of Richmond, to consider the subject of prison discipline in England and Wales; and the same evening, in the commons, the house having resolved itself into a committee, Sir R. Peel brought forward his plan for effecting a commutation of tithes in England, by a voluntary agreement between the owner and payer of tithe in each parish; when, after a short debate, a resolution, embodying the leading principle of the plan, was agreed to. On the twenty-sixth, Mr. Tooke moved that an address should be presented to the crown, for the grant of a charter to the London university; and after a debate of some length, the motion was carried against ministers by a majority of 246 to 110. His majesty's answer, which was returned in a few days, stated that the address had been laid before the privy council; and that he would, without delay, call for a report of its proceedings, in order

that he might be enabled to judge of the best means of carrying into effect the wishes of his faithful commons. CHAP. LXVIII.

1835.
Defeats of
ministers.

On the twenty-seventh, the army and ordnance estimates were carried by large majorities, though not without a fierce struggle with Mr. Hume and his partisans; and on Monday the thirtieth, after the house had been called over, lord John Russell brought forward his motion on the Irish church, in the form of a resolution,—‘for a committee of the whole house, to consider respecting the temporalities of the church of Ireland.’ This motion, which was, as it were, a gauntlet thrown down to ministers, was met by Sir Edward Knatchbull with a direct negative; and a debate ensued, which was continued by adjournments over the three following nights: the speakers were numerous on both sides; and after lord John Russell had briefly replied, the house divided about three o’clock on the morning of Friday, April the fourth; when the numbers were found to be, for the motion 322, against it 289. On the evening of the same day the house went into committee on the motion of lord John, who moved, ‘that it is the opinion of this committee, that any surplus which may remain, after fully providing for the spiritual instruction of the members of the established church in Ireland, ought to be applied to the general education of all classes of christians.’ When the debate had continued some time, Mr. Peter Borthwick moved an adjournment; but his motion was negatived; and soon afterwards the house adjourned to Monday, the sixth: on that day the debate was resumed, and the committee at length divided; when the resolution was carried by a majority of 262 against 237; and the house then went into committee on the navy estimates. On Tuesday, the report of the committee on the Irish church was brought up, when lord John Russell rose, and moved, ‘that it is the opinion of this house, that no measure on the subject of tithes in

CHAP.
LXVIII.

1835.

Dissolution
of Sir R.
Peel's ad-
ministra-
tion.

Ireland can lead to a satisfactory and final adjustment, which does not embody the principle contained in the foregoing resolution.' Another long debate followed, at the termination of which the house divided; when the numbers appeared, for the motion 285, against it 258.

On Wednesday, the eighth of April, the duke of Wellington in the lords, and Sir R. Peel in the commons, declared that their administration was at an end: both houses met subsequently on various days, but without transacting any business of importance; until lord Melbourne announced in the lords, on the eighteenth, that he had been appointed first lord of the treasury, and that the new administration was formed: to a question asked by lord Alvanley, he replied, that he did not know whether he should have the assistance of Mr. O'Connell or not; but that he had taken no means to secure it, and had entered into no terms whatever with that honorable and learned gentleman: his lordship added, that to Mr. O'Connell's opinions, in favor of a repeal of the union and the abolition of the house of peers, he was intirely opposed: the house then adjourned to the thirtieth of April; but with an understanding, that no public business should be undertaken till the twelfth of May. The same evening, in the commons, Mr. F. Baring moved for new writs on account of vacancies occasioned by the appointment of seventeen members to offices under the crown; and the commons also adjourned to the twelfth of May.

Restora-
tion of
lord Mel-
bourne's
cabinet.

The new cabinet was formed as follows:—viscount Melbourne, first lord of the treasury; lord Palmerston, lord J. Russell, and Mr. C. Grant, secretaries respectively for the foreign, home, and colonial departments; lord Lansdowne, president of the council; lord Duncannon, privy seal, and chief commissioner of woods and forests; lord Auckland, first lord of the admiralty; Sir J. C. Hobhouse and Mr. Poulett Thompson, presidents of the boards of

control and of trade; lord Howick, secretary at war; lord Holland, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster; and Mr. Spring Rice, chancellor of the exchequer: Sir John Campbell and Mr. R. M. Rolfe were made attorney and solicitor-general; and Mr. Cutlar Fergusson, judge advocate: the earl of Mulgrave went as lord lieutenant to advance the popularity of ministers in Ireland, where lord Plunkett was made chancellor, and lord Morpeth chief secretary, with Mr. Serjeant Perrin and Mr. O'Loughlin as attorney and solicitor-general: the lord advocate of Scotland was Mr. J. A. Murray. Among other appointments, were those of Sir Henry Parnell, as paymaster of the forces, and treasurer of the navy; the marquis of Conyngham, postmaster-general; and marquis Wellesley, lord chamberlain.

CHAP.
LXVIII.

1835.

Thus the short-lived ministry of Sir Robert Peel passed away, not because the premier himself was generally believed dishonest or insincere, but because he was considered a tool in the hands of men, who only flattered to betray: it was succeeded by an administration, the leading members of which, being taught by experience, were not so liable as before to be caught by the wiles and snares of their opponents: relying on that portion of the community which now possessed the principal share of political power, they determined to pursue a steady course of reform, and to present a bolder front to their adversaries: in such a determination they have persevered, and the power of public opinion has for a long time supported them: it cannot however be denied, that dangers of a complicated kind threaten their stability, which it will require all their prudence and sagacity to avert. If they succeed in weathering the storm, there can be no doubt that they will continue their endeavors to restore our constitution to a sound state, repairing what is decayed in the fabric, without disturbing its foundation: if they fall, they will have the consolation to reflect, that few administrations can compete with

CHAP.
LXVIII.

1835.

them in the magnitude and importance of the national questions which they have already set at rest; and that they may with pride inscribe on their shields—ABOLITION OF SLAVERY—AMENDMENT OF THE POOR LAWS—and CORPORATION REFORM.

I N D E X.



A.

- Abbot, Mr.**, chosen speaker of the house of commons v, 45. his zeal against the catholics vi, 68. his resignation, and elevation to the peerage 331
- Abbot, Mr.**, justice, (lord Tenterden) created lord chief justice vi, 361. opposes the claims of the catholics vii, 199
- Abercromby, Sir Ralph**, his co-operation with lord Cornwallis in India iv, 66. appointed commander-in-chief in Ireland, and soon after resigns his command 346. takes possession of Helder fort, 422. superseded by the duke of York, ib. assists in the reduction of Malta 458. lands at Aboukir-bay v, 25. mortally wounded in the battle of Alexandria 27
- Achmuty, Sir Samuel**, gains possession of Monte Video v, 204. his gallantry at the attack on Buenos Ayres 205. captures the island of Java 467
- Acre**, unsuccessful siege of, by Bonaparte iv, 427
- Adam, Mr.**, abandons the opposition iii, 3. his duel with Mr. Fox 4
- Adams, Mr.**, envoy from the United States, his first interview with George III. iii, 194. chosen president of the United States vii, 95
- Addington, Mr.**, (lord Sidmouth) advanced to the head of the government v, 10. elevated to the peerage 100. quits the ministry 114. created home secretary vi, 14
- Adelaide**, queen of William IV. her popularity and condescension vii, 249. provision made for her by parliament 279. her coronation 284
- Africa**, expedition fitted out for exploring its interior vi, 327
- Aitken, John**, condemned and executed ii, 273
- Aix-la-Chapelle**, resolutions of the congress at vi, 364
- Albemarle, lord**, joined with admiral Pocock in the conquest of the Havannah i, 207
- Alentejo**, surprise and defeat of the Spanish army near i, 201

- Alexander, captain, his co-operation with the army in the Burmese war vii, 60
- , emperor of Russia, his accession to the throne v, 23. concludes a convention with Great Britain 24. declares war against France 113. concludes the treaty of Tilsit 195. proclaims afresh the armed neutrality against Great Britain 201. takes possession of Finland 233. prepares for war with France 426. emancipates his country vi, 24. moderation of his conduct at Paris 126. his flattering reception in England 144. endeavors to abolish domestic slavery in his dominions 399. his death vii, 93
- Algiers, its attack and capture by lord Exmouth vi, 321. reverts to its old system of slavery 326. blockaded by the French vii, 180. surrenders to general Bourmont 269
- Ali Pasha, his repulse from Parga vi, 137. his entry into that fortress 399
- Alien bill, its enactment vi, 357. its renewal vii, 24
- Allen, colonel, his surprise of Ticonderoga ii, 185
- Almadovar, count d', Spanish ambassador at the court of London, presents a hostile manifesto, and withdraws ii, 407
- Almeida, surrender of, to the French and Spaniards i, 200. taken by Massena v, 391. recaptured by the British 448
- Alvinzi, marshal, defeated by Bonaparte iv, 286. fails in his attempt to relieve Mantua 319
- Amboyna, taken by the British v, 375
- Ambrosius, archbishop of Moscow, cruelly murdered ii, 46
- Amelia, princess, birth of iii, 215. her death v, 365
- , princess, aunt to George III., her death iii, 308
- Americans, determination of the British government to extract a direct revenue from i, 258. discontents of 260. disputes between, and the savage tribes 265. treaty concluded with them 268. they resolve to abstain from the use of British goods 282. their resistance to the stamp duties 289. they appoint deputies to a congress at New York 292. discontinue the use of stamped paper 293. resolve to suspend all commercial intercourse with Great Britain 295. which is partially resumed at the repeal of the stamp act 317. discontented at the imposition of additional duties 377. form associations for the discontinuance of all articles imported from the mother country 394. make military preparations ii, 170. draw up an address to the people of Great Britain 176. expel the king's governors 191. instance of their bad faith 228. they publish a declaration of national independence 238. App. 431. review of their diplomatic agency 246. procure secret aid from France and Spain 255. firm and judicious conduct of their congress 261. miserable condition of their army, ib. letters of marque granted against by the British government 274. conclude a treaty of alliance with France 358. their rejection of the conciliatory propositions of Great Britain 377. they combine with the French in an unsuccessful assault on Rhode Island 385. avenge the destruction of Wyoming on the savages 388. their great success at sea iii, 52. dis-

- contents in their army 154. they recover Charleston 155. their severity to the loyalists 156. obtain a recognition of their independence by Great Britain at the treaty of peace 192. their disputes with the government of Great Britain iv, 188. they become involved in a quarrel with France 290. 372. purchase Louisiana from that power v, 79. their disputes with Great Britain amicably arranged 169. their opposition to the British orders in council 209. their increasing hostility 347. 374. they open their ports to the ships of France, and close them against those of England 427. their commencement of hostilities 428. their ill success in Canada vi, 17. vigor and good fortune of their naval enterprises, *ib*.
- Amherst**, general, despatches a force against the American Indians i, 265
- , lord, appointed governor-general of India vii, 32. compels Mr. Arnot to quit India 35. commences war with the Burmese 43. who are compelled to solicit peace 68. he settles a commercial treaty with the Burmese 70. directs lord Combermere to besiege Bhurtpoor, which is taken by assault 72. embarks for England 75
- Amiens**, treaty of v, 33
- André**, major, appointed to correspond with general Arnold iii, 45. his conference with that officer, *ib*. is arrested 46. conveys intimation to Arnold of his capture 47. intercedes with Washington for a commutation of punishment 49. is hanged as a spy 50
- Andreossy**, general, French ambassador to Great Britain v, 51
- Anglesea**, marquis of, wounded at the battle of Waterloo vi, 239. succeeds the duke of Wellington in the ordnance vii, 128. becomes lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and advocates concession to the catholics 176. his dismissal from that office 177. defends the catholic cause in the lords 198. again lord-lieutenant of Ireland 263
- Angoulême**, duc d', his triumphant entry into Bourdeaux vi, 125. his joyful reception by the army 132. restores Ferdinand VII. to arbitrary power vii, 4
- Anson**, lord, his character i, 117. superseded in the admiralty 191
- Antwerp**, its gallant defence by general Chassé vii, 272. surrenders to the French 353
- Arnold**, colonel, his able support of the American cause ii, 185. arrives before Quebec 188. effects a junction with Montgomery 189. makes an unsuccessful attack on Quebec 189. 226. his retreat to Crown Point 229. is pursued by the British under Carleton, and defeated 230. promoted and rewarded by congress for his valor 313. he re-inforces the Americans 325. attacks the British troops under Burgoyne, but repulsed 326. appointed to the command of West Point 418. enters into a secret correspondence with Sir Henry Clinton iii, 45. his conference with major André, *ib*. effects his escape, and accepts a commission in the British service 47. his proclamations in justification of

- his conduct 50. his expedition to Virginia 93. baffles the design of Washington 94
- Arnot, Mr., sent to England by lord Amherst vii, 35
- Arroyo Molino, remarkable exploit of Sir Rowland Hill at v, 463
- Asgill, captain, selected by Washington to expiate the murder of Huddy iii, 158. saved by the interposition of the queen of France, *ib.*
- Ashantees, king of the, attacks the British settlements on the Gold Coast vii, 28. compelled to retreat 29
- Astronomical society, foundation of vi, 448
- Auerstadt, battle of v, 173
- Augereau, marshal, re-establishes the power of the directory by order of Bonaparte iv, 323
- Austerlitz, battle of v, 137
- Australia, its rapid and extensive improvement vii, 30
- Austria, her position at the peace of Hubertsburg i, 224. her ambitious schemes regarding the Bavarian succession ii, 348. her arbitrary conduct in the Netherlands iii, 416. commences war with the French republic iv, 22. concludes the treaty of Campo Formio 323. renews hostilities with France 379. consents to the treaty of Luneville 455. joins the alliance against France v, 113. concludes the treaty of Presburg 140. lays aside her electoral dignity 152. again commences hostilities against France 334. compelled to accept a disadvantageous peace after the battle of Wagram 335. joins the allies against France vi, 75. extent of its territory at the congress of Vienna 181. its opposition to Greek independence 480. its jealousy of Russian influence in Turkey vii, 158

B.

- Badajos besieged by Soult v, 429. captured by that general 436. retaken by the British with immense slaughter vi, 36
- Bailly, M., appointed mayor of Paris iii, 429
- Baird, Sir David, wounded in battle, and taken prisoner by Hyder Ali iii, 73. his cruel treatment, *ib.* commands a successful expedition against the Cape of Good Hope v, 166. wounded at the battle of Coruña 280
- Bajee Row, rises up in arms against the British government vi, 281. compelled to renounce all sovereignty in the Deccan 292
- Baltimore, unsuccessful attack on, by the British vi, 159
- Bank of England, renewal of its charter vii, 348
- Barclay, captain, defeat and capture of his squadron by commodore Perry vi, 111
- Barlow, Mr. Joel, his mission as ambassador at the court of Bonaparte vi, 20. his death, *ib.*
- , Sir George, succeeds the marquis Cornwallis in the government of India vi, 258. counteracts the political system of the marquis Wellesley 260. superseded by lord Minto, *ib.*
- Barosa, battle of v, 432

- Barras, M.**, his powerful patronage of Napoleon iv, 257. urges him to undertake the conquest of England 328
- Barrie, captain**, his gallant exploit at Sagone-bay v, 466
- Barrington, lord**, his character i, 118
- Bastile**, destruction of iii, 428
- Baylen**, surrender of Dupont at v, 220
- Bayonne**, its investment by lord Wellington vi, 122
- Beauharnois, madame**, becomes the wife of Bonaparte iv, 258
 ———, Eugene, created viceroy of Italy v, 234. assumes the command of the French forces after the desertion of Murat vi, 24
- Beaulieu, general**, his unsuccessful campaign against Bonaparte iv, 281
- Beaumarchais, M. de**, commissioned by the French government to promise aid to the Americans ii, 247. his offers to Silas Deane 250
- Beckford, alderman**, promotes the interests of the earl of Chatham in the city of London i, 210. elected mayor the second time 444. his reply to the king ii, 21. his death 31
- Bedford, duke of**, his character i, 118. becomes the leader of the cabinet 247
- Bedingfield, Mr.**, his loyal and gallant conduct iv, 260. his factious answer to Mr. Dundas, ib.
- Bednore**, its capture by general Mathews iii, 81. retaken by Tip-poo Saib, ib.
- Beer**, unpopular tax on i, 135. its repeal vii, 231
- Belgium**, its union with Holland at the congress of Vienna vi, 183. its discontents vii, 209. revolution in 252. its independence recognised by Holland 353
- Belleisle**, capture of i, 138
- Belliard, general**, surrenders Grand Cairo to the British v, 29
- Bellingham** assassinates Mr. Perceval in the house of commons vi, 7. his trial and execution 8
- Bengal** invaded by Shah Zaddah i, 140
- Bentinck, lord William**, his unsuccessful attack on Tarragona vi, 82. besieges and takes Genoa vi, 135
- Beresford, marshal**, assumes the command of the Portuguese troops v, 301. his admirable system of discipline, ib. invests the fortress of Badajos 448. defeats the French at Albuera 450. accompanies the duc d'Angoulême to Bourdeaux vi, 125. his hostility to the freedom of Portugal 450
- Bergen-op-Zoom**, siege of vi, 121
- Berlin**, decree issued by Bonaparte at, to exclude British ships and commerce from all European ports v, 198
- Bernadotte, general**, his defence of Antwerp against the British v, 341. elected crown prince of Sweden 372. emancipates that country from French dependence 428. defeats Oudinot vi, 76. routs Ney, ib. obtains possession of Norway at the congress of Vienna 186
- Bernard, governor**, his hostilities with the legislative assembly of

- Massachusetts i. 318. by whom it is dissolved 398. he refuses to convoke the assembly 399. his departure from America 438
- Berri, duc de, his assassination vi, 453.
- Berry, captain, his zealous co-operation with Nelson at cape St. Vincent iv, 313. is captured by the French 371. his gallantry and good humor at the capture of *Le Généreux* 459
- Bessières, marshal, his decisive victory over the Spaniards at Rio Seco v, 219
- Birmingham, riots at iv, 18. formation of political unions at vii, 293. their intemperate resolutions 315. 321
- Biron, maréchal, his generosity to Rodney ii, 375
- Blucher, marshal, defeats Macdonald vi, 76. is repulsed by Napoleon 119. defeats the French at Laon, ib. takes St. Denis 126. his enthusiastic reception in London 144. defeated at Ligny 200. his eager efforts to co-operate with the duke of Wellington at Waterloo 232. pursues the French after the battle 240. enters Paris, and strips the Louvre of its trophies of victory 245
- Bois le duc, its surrender to the French iv, 210
- Bolivar, his success against the armies of Old Spain vi, 400. first president of Columbia 401
- Bonaparte, Napoleon, his courage and conduct at the siege of Toulon iv, 142. his rapid promotion 147. his successes in Italy 203. his triumph over the sections and national guard 257. becomes general-in-chief of the army of the interior 258. his marriage with madame Beauharnois, ib. assumes the command of the army in Italy 279. forces the passage of the bridge of Lodi 282. enters Milan in triumph, ib. suppresses insurrections at Milan and Pavia 283. defeats Wurmser and Davidowitch 285. forces Alvinzi to take refuge in the Austrian Alps 286. takes possession of Leghorn 287. defeats Alvinzi, and gets possession of Mantua 319. signs a preliminary treaty with Austria 321. quells the insurrection at Verona, ib. re-establishes the directory of Paris 323. concludes the treaty of Campo Formio, ib. procures the release of La Fayette 337. embarks for the invasion of Egypt 361. takes possession of Grand Cairo 362. carries Jaffa by assault, and besieges Acre 427. is compelled to raise the siege of Acre by Sir Sidney Smith 428. returns to France, ib. dissolves the Directory 429. is nominated first consul 430. makes proposals of peace to the British government 433. crosses the Alps at Great St. Bernard 450. enters Milan and Pavia, ib. gains a decisive victory at Marengo 452. concludes the treaty of Luneville 455. and that of Amiens v, 33. banishes a number of jacobins from France 41. ratifies a concordat with the pope, ib. annihilates the independence of Switzerland 49. created consul for life, ib. commits numerous aggressions on the English 58. detains all British subjects in France at the resumption of hostilities 62. his seizure of Hanover 78. a plot formed to subvert his government 90. he gives orders for the trial and execution of the duc d'Enghien,

ib. assumes the imperial dignity 93. crowned king of Italy, and incorporates Genoa with the French empire 112. his preparations to invade England 116. gains possession of Ulm 123. obtains a decisive victory at Austerlitz 137. makes peace with Austria 140. dethrones the king of Naples 141. defeats the Prussian army at Auerstadt and Jena 173. makes a triumphant entry into Berlin 174. declares the British isles in a state of blockade, ib. fights a drawn battle at Eylau 194. and obtains a decisive victory at Friedland 195. concludes the treaty of Tilsit, ib. obtains possession of Portugal 207. takes advantage of the dissensions in Spain to obtain military possession of that country 213. opposed in his designs by popular enthusiasm 216. transfers the crown of that country to his brother Joseph 218. has an interview with the emperor Alexander at Erfurth 261. offers peace to Great Britain, ib. assumes the command of the armies in Spain 264. enters Madrid 265. takes possession of Astorga 275. recalled to Paris by the Austrian war 276. imprisons the pope 334. again enters Vienna, ib. repulsed at Aspern by the archduke Charles 335. gains a decisive victory at Wagram, and grants peace to Austria, ib. is divorced from Josephine, and contracts a marriage with Maria Louisa 371. his prosperity enhanced by the birth of a son 426. prepares for a rupture with Russia, ib. sets out on his Russian expedition vi, 21. his magnificent display at Dresden, ib. gains an unproductive victory at Borodino, and takes possession of Moscow 23. is compelled to retreat in consequence of the conflagration of that city 24. quits his army, and returns to Paris, ib. repairs to Germany 74. defeats the allies at Lutzen and Bautzen, ib. repels the Austrians at Dresden 76. his reverses, ib. sustains a total defeat at Leipsic 77. represses the attack of the Bavarians, ib. liberates the pope and Ferdinand of Spain, ib. rejects the offers of the allies 78. deserted by Murat 117. repulses the Austrians and Prussians 119. who, however, reach the capital 120. abdicates the empire 128. arrives at Elba, ib. escapes to France 192. received with enthusiasm by the army, ib. arrives at Paris 194. offers a new constitution to the nation 195. quits Paris 196. arrives at Belgium 204. defeats the Prussians at Ligny 207. proceeds to La Belle Alliance 216. attacks the British at Waterloo 221. his total overthrow 238. again abdicates the throne, and retires to Malmaison 242. puts himself into the hands of captain Maitland, and arrives at Plymouth 252. is sent to St. Helena, ib. his acrimonious disputes with Sir Hudson Lowe 253. his death and funeral 467

Bonaparte, Lucien, president of the council of five hundred iv, 429. refuses to pronounce a decree of outlawry against his brother 430. seeks an asylum in England v, 373

———, **Joseph**, created king of Naples by his brother v, 141. proclaimed king of Spain 218. defeated at Talavera 324. compelled to evacuate Madrid vi, 50. his return 53. obliged to retreat to Vittoria 86. his total defeat at that place 91. retreats to the Pyrenees 92

- Bonaparte, Jerome**, created king of Westphalia v, 196
 ———, **Louis**, created king of Holland v, 196. resigns his crown, and retires into Germany 371
- Borodino**, battle of vi, 23
- Boston**, riots at i, 398. which are suppressed by the military 400. renewed tumults ii, 19. exasperation of the inhabitants 102. is punished by the enactment of the Boston-port bill 109. British army blockaded at 223. the town evacuated by the British 224
- Bouillé, marquis de**, his capture of Dominica ii, 389. reduces Tobago, and other islands iii, 92
- Bourmont, general**, captures Algiers vii, 269
- Braganza** taken by the Spaniards i, 200
- Brandt**, his seizure and execution ii, 65
- Brandywine**, engagement on the ii, 315
- Brazil** becomes the residence of the royal family of Portugal v, 207. its independence recognised vii, 94. commences war with the republic of Buenos Ayres, ib.
- Brereton**, colonel, his trial and death vii, 295
- Bristol**, riots at vii, 294
 ———, earl of, his diplomacy at the court of Madrid i, 154
- Britany**, parliament of, their spirited opposition to the French king i, 336
- Brock**, general, his gallant death in defence of Canada vi, 17
- Broglio**, marshal, defeated by prince Ferdinand at Kirchdenkern i, 140. is recalled 197
- Broke**, captain, his gallant capture of the Chesapeake vi, 113
- Brooklyn**, defeat of the Americans at ii, 243
- Brougham, Mr. (lord Brougham)** his denunciations of the objects of the holy alliance vi, 307. his benevolent zeal for the education of the poor 359. 417. his proposal to government in favor of queen Caroline 422. meets her at St. Omers 425. his powerful defence of his client in the house of lords 443. his fracas with Mr. Canning in the house of commons vii, 6. his denunciation of a military premier 159. created lord chancellor with a peerage 262. his powerful advocacy of the reform bill 288. dismissed from office 400
- Bruce**, Mr. assists in effecting the escape of Lavallette vi, 250
- Brueys**, admiral, his admirable skill at the battle of the Nile iv, 364. his heroic death 368
- Brunel**, Mr. commences the construction of the Thames tunnel vii, 91
- Brunswick Luneburg**, prince of, his marriage with the sister of George III. i, 251. invades France iv, 27. compelled to retreat 32. resigns the command 189. killed at Jena v, 173
 ——— clubs, their violence and zeal in the cause of protestant ascendancy vii, 175
- Buckeburg**, count of, assumes the command in Portugal i, 190. saves that country by his talents 202. rewarded by his Portuguese majesty, ib.
- Buckingham**, marquis of, his munificence iv, 58

- Buckingham, Mr. his endeavors to establish the freedom of the press in India vii, 32. sent to England 35
- Buenos Ayres, unsuccessful attack on, by the British and Portuguese i, 208. its capture by general Beresford v, 167. relinquished 168. is attacked without success by general Whitelocke 205. separates itself from the mother country vi, 400. commences war with Brazil vii, 94
- Bunker's-hill, sanguinary conflict at, ii, 178.
- Burdett, Sir Francis, his censures on the house of commons in a letter to his constituents v, 358. committed to the Tower on the speaker's warrant, ib. his liberation 359. his humane endeavors for the mitigation of military punishment 414. is tried and convicted for a libel on the government vi, 387
- Burgos, unsuccessful siege of by lord Wellington vi, 51
- Burgoyne, general, surprises the Spanish army i, 201. attacks them by night, and disperses the army 202. appointed to serve in America ii, 177. his advance from Canada 322. takes possession of Ticonderoga 323. his insuperable difficulties 324. his failures 325. repels the attack of Arnold with great loss 326. fortifies his position, ib. compelled to retreat to Saratoga 328. surrounded on all sides 329. capitulates 330. terms of convention, ib. conduct of the American congress regarding the troops 332. throws up his appointments 404
- Burke, Mr. appointed private secretary to the marquis of Rockingham i, 287. his first display of parliamentary eloquence 302. opposes the expulsion of Wilkes 427. brings forward measures for the restoration of tranquillity to America ii, 159. his projects of economy iii, 9. his plan of reform 60. his scheme of public economy passed 144. his impeachment of Warren Hastings 299. incurs a vote of censure from the house of commons 414. his unqualified condemnation of the French revolution 441. publishes his *Reflections on the Revolution of France* 447. his irreconcilable quarrel with Fox iv, 7. introduces a novel species of oratory 88. his strictures on the character of La Fayette 167. his death and character 271
- , his trial and execution vii, 178
- Burlington Arcade, its erection vi, 401
- Burmese, their fierce and warlike nature vii, 36. their persecution of the Mughs, ib. they commence hostilities with the British government 43. are compelled to quit Rangoon 45. defeated at Kemmendine 46. commence an unsuccessful attack on the British position at that place 55. again defeated at Prome 60. driven from Melloone 66. obliged to accept disadvantageous terms of peace 68
- Burrard, Sir H., supersedes Sir A. Wellesley in Portugal v, 249. generous vindication of his conduct by Sir A. Wellesley 252
- Busacos, battle of v, 395
- Bute, lord, his character i, 111. influences the counsels of George III. 128. appointed secretary of state 137. first lord of the treasury 191. his unpopularity 211. proposes a tax on cider 236. resigns 237

- Butler, Dr., charged with promoting a popish conspiracy i, 178
 Buxar, battle of i, 353
 Biron, lord, tried in Westminster-hall for the murder of Mr. Chaworth i, 298. found guilty of manslaughter, ib.
 Byron, lord, his death at Missolonghi vii, 95

C.

- Caledonian canal, opening of vi, 507
 Calvi, siege of iv, 184
 Camden, earl of, his character i, 117. directs the liberation of Mr. Wilkes 244. maintains the illegality of general warrants 252. opposes the taxation of the American colonies 314. is made chancellor 325. dismissed ii, 7
 ———, battle of iii, 42
 Campbell, Sir Archibald, appointed to the command of the army in the Burmese war vii, 44. attacks and carries the enemy's stockades at Kemmendine 48. defeats the Burmese at the great pagoda 51. repulses the attacks of the enemy 57. makes himself master of Prome 60. totally defeats the enemy at this place 67. determines to advance on Ava, ib. concludes a treaty of peace with the Burmese 68. honors awarded to his skill and gallantry 71
 Campo Formio, treaty of iv, 323
 Canada, bill for settling the administration of ii, 126. its invasion by the Americans 187. its brave defence by governor Carleton, ib. the invading army compelled to retreat 229. unsuccessfully invaded by general Hull vi, 16. its dissensions with the mother country vii, 29
 Canning, Mr., his powerful vindication of the measures of Mr. Pitt iv, 377. his violent party-spirit v, 162. joins the Portland administration 186. wounded in a duel with lord Castlereagh 342. resigns office 343. is elected member for Liverpool vi, 54. joins the ministry, and again relinquishes office, 326. his temporising policy towards queen Caroline 434. his defence of catholic emancipation 461. appointed governor of India 483. his opposition to parliamentary reform 497. becomes foreign secretary 503. his liberal policy 506. his fracas with Mr. Brougham vii, 6. obtains the appointment of British consuls to the South American colonies 16. his magnificent speech at Plymouth 17. procures the recognition of South American independence 19. his able support of the free-trade system 98. opposes all attempts of parliamentary reform 103. his vigorous system of foreign policy 108. his illness and recovery 116. accepts the office of premier 126. his popularity 127. encounters violent opposition in the house of lords 138. his financial statements 143. his death and character 147. parliamentary grant to his family 163
 ———, Mrs., her promotion to the peerage vii, 163
 Cape of Good Hope, assaulted by commodore Johnstone iii, 90. captured by the British v, 167. commotions at vii, 28

- Capo d'Istria installed first president of Greece vii, 181. his assassination 299
- Capua seized by the British iv, 420
- Caraccas, its resistance to the oppressions of the mother country v, 381
- Caraccioli, prince, is cruelly put to death by the orders of Nelson iv, 419
- Carbonari, their suppression by the holy alliance vi, 452
- Cardigan-bay, descent of the French on iv, 310. their speedy repulse, 311
- Caribbs of St. Vincents, insurrection of ii, 78
- Caribbee isles, transferred to Great Britain i, 203
- Carleton, general, his able defence of Canada ii, 187. his escape to Quebec 188. repulses the enemy 189. baffles all their designs 227. pursues the Americans in their retreat 229. he resigns his command in disgust 322. succeeds Sir Henry Clinton in the command in America iii, 157
- Carlile, his trial and sentence for blasphemous publications vi, 502
- Carnac, major, routs and takes prisoner Shah Zaddah and M. Law i, 140. assumes the command of the British forces in India 351. his generous treatment of Sujah Dowla 366
- Carnot, his great military genius and prudence iv, 148
- Caroline, sister of George III., her marriage with the king of Denmark i, 335. her misfortunes and death ii, 64
- Caroline, consort of George IV., her marriage iv, 234. parliamentary provision made for her 235. investigation of her conduct v, 147. her resistance to the restrictions imposed on her intercourse with her daughter vi, 62. excites popular sympathy in her favor 145. quits England 148. her name omitted in the liturgy at the demise of George III. 406. complains of the insults she receives from foreign courts 424. rejects the offers of government 427. her arrival in England 428. a bill of pains and penalties introduced against her in the house of lords 437. her letter to the king 439. her great popularity, ib. commencement of her trial 440. the bill abandoned by ministers 445. reflections on her conduct 446. she returns public thanks in St. Paul's cathedral, ib. contest between her partisans and the government 455. decline of her popularity 458. her exclusion from the ceremony of the coronation 469. her mortification 470. her last illness and death 473. tumults in the metropolis at her funeral 475
- Cash payments at the Bank, suspension of iv, 300. reflections on that measure 303. legislative enactments for their resumption vi, 368
- Cassel, capture of, by prince Ferdinand i, 199
- Castlereagh, lord, accepts the office of foreign secretary v, 114. joins the Portland administration 186. engaged in trafficking for seats in parliament 288. plans a fatal expedition to the Scheldt 338. his duel with Mr. Canning 342. resigns his office 343. his defence of the Walcheren expedition 351. rejoins the

- Perceval cabinet vi, 5. deputed as ambassador to the head-quarters of the allies 116. his spirited remonstrance 120. approval of his conduct by the house of commons 142. an ambassador at the congress of Vienna 151. his restrictions on public liberty by the introduction of the six acts 394. palliates the enormities of the Turks 400. puts a period to his existence 502
- Catamaran project, its failure v, 98
- Catharine II. empress of Russia, imprisons her husband, and ascends the imperial throne i, 195. withdraws her troops from the service of Prussia 196. her political sagacity 230. acquires an ascendancy in Poland 272. her conquests in Turkey ii, 33. refuses to hire her forces to Great Britain for the suppression of the Americans 207. endeavors to injure Britain by the establishment of an armed neutrality iii, 110. her death and character iv, 292
- Cathcart, general, commands the troops in the expedition to Denmark v, 189
- Catholic Association, its establishment vii, 24. is re-organised 174. its great influence, *ib.* announces its dissolution 185
- Catholic relief bill, its introduction to the commons vii, 186. presented to the lords 196. receives the royal assent 203
- Catholics, persecution of, in Scotland ii, 404. destruction of their chapels and dwelling-houses during the riots in London iii, 24. relieved from the operation of penal laws iv, 9. their committee in Ireland, its violence, &c. v, 421
- Cato-street conspiracy, account of vi, 407. apprehension and punishment of its contrivers 411
- Chads, captain, invested with the command of the naval expedition to Kemmendine vii, 53. his zealous co-operation with the army 56. superseded by captain Alexander 58. commands the flotilla at Prome 62. a British commissioner to conclude peace with the Burmese 69
- Chalier, his execution at Lyons iv, 132. impious fête in honor of his memory 141
- Chandageer, unsuccessful attack on i, 354. is taken by Sir Robert Fletcher 365
- Charette, general, his gallant defence of La Vendée iv, 245. completely defeated by general Hoche 274
- Charleroi taken by the French republicans iv, 196
- Charles X., his accession to the throne of France vii, 31. his expulsion 251
- IV., king of Spain, resigns his crown into the hands of Napoleon v, 218
- of Austria, archduke, his military genius iv, 274. defeats general Jourdan 275. drives Moreau across the Rhine 278. liberates Germany from the presence of the French 279. again defeats Jourdan 414. is deprived of his command 446. repulses Bonaparte at Aspern v, 335. defeated by him at Wagram, *ib.*
- Charleston, surrender of that city to the British iii, 40. recovered by the Americans 155

Charlotte Sophia, daughter of the duke of Mecklenburg Strelitz, demanded in marriage by George III. i, 161. her nuptials 164. her coronation 165. parliamentary grant to her 169. Buckingham-house purchased for her residence 182. her encouragement of English manufactures 284. her domestic habits ii, 50. is entrusted with the care of his majesty's person during his illness v, 370. her death and character vi, 361

———, princess, daughter of George IV., her birth iv, 266. restrictions imposed on her intercourse with her mother vi, 62. her flight from the control of her father 147. her return, ib. united to the prince of Saxe Coburg 312. her death 345

Chartres, duc de, (Louis Philippe) escapes to the Austrian camp iv, 117. raised to the throne of France vii, 252

Chassé, general, his gallant defence of Antwerp vii, 272. surrenders to marshal Gerard 353

Chatham, earl of, (W. Pitt) his character i, 119. his determination to adhere to the Prussian alliance 127. his rejection of the offer of a separate peace with France 153. recommends an immediate declaration of war with Spain 156. is opposed by the majority of the cabinet, ib. resigns the seals 158. opposes peace with France 210. his objections to the preliminary treaty of Fontainebleau 222. his interview with the king 245. condemns the prosecution of Wilkes 250. opposes American taxation 264. is unwilling to accept office with the king's friends 285. his quarrel with lord Temple 323. accepts the office of privy seal, and is raised to the peerage 325. makes an unsuccessful attempt to establish a northern confederacy 327. becomes unpopular 332. his increasing embarrassments 333. resigns office 422. his speeches on American and domestic affairs ii, 2. his violent motions 14. his opinions on American resistance 144. deprecates the farther continuance of hostilities 282. his indignant remonstrances at the employment of savages 336. his remarks on the capitulation of Burgoyne's army 340. his assertions contradicted by lord Amherst 341. his last appearance in the house of peers 367. his closing speech, ib. his death 370. honors paid to his memory 371

———, earl of, appointed to the command of an expedition to the Scheldt v, 339. gains possession of Flushing 340. advances to Walcheren 341. returns to England, ib.

Chauvelin, M., his correspondence with lord Grenville iv, 85

Chaworth, Mr., killed in a duel with lord Biron i, 298

Cherokee Indians, chastisement inflicted on i, 138

Chesapeake, its capture by captain Broke, of the Shannon vi, 113

Cheyte Sing, rajah of Benares, his oppression and arrest by Warren Hastings ii, 298. is deposed 299

Chili, its separation from the mother country vi, 400

China, restrictions on its trade removed vii, 349

Choiseul, duc de, displaced by the intrigues of madame du Barry ii, 35

- Cholera, its ravages in India vii, 297. its rise and progress in Britain, *ib.*
- Christ church, Oxford, fire at v, 345
- Churches, parliamentary grant for the erection of vi, 354
- Cider tax imposed i, 236. repealed 315
- Ciutra, convention of v, 251
- Ciudad Rodrigo, its capture by the French v, 300. retaken by the British vi, 28
- Clairfait, general, assists the duke of York at the capture of Valenciennes iv, 120. defeated by the republicans 196. his able and successful campaign 250
- Clapperton, captain, sets out on an expedition to Africa vii, 92. dies at Soccatoo, *ib.*
- Clarke, Mrs. her deposition to the charges instituted against the duke of York v, 285
- Clergy, their petition against subscription to the thirty-nine articles, rejected by the commons ii, 52
- Clinton, Sir Henry, despatched by government to America ii, 177. his gallantry at Bunker's hill 180. projects an unsuccessful attack on Sullivan's island 231. gains possession of Rhode island 259. his expedition up the Hudson 326. takes possession of forts Clinton and Montgomery 327. a division of his army burns Kingston, *ib.* he retreats to New York, *ib.* takes the command of the British army 379. harassed by Washington in his retreat on New York 382. takes Stony Point and Verplanks 417. his expedition against South Carolina, and siege of Charleston, iii, 38. gains possession of that city, and reduces the whole province 40. retires to New York, *ib.* intercedes with Washington for the life of major André 48. is recalled 157
- , fort, captured by Sir Henry Clinton ii, 327
- Clive, lord, appointed governor of India i, 369. his sentiments and conduct on his arrival 360. concludes a treaty with the nabob of Oude 364. his arrangements respecting the inland trade 367. his reduction of military expenses, and stoppage of double pay 369. conspiracy of his officers suppressed by his decision 370. his departure for England 373. is arraigned in the house of commons ii, 83. his defence 84. his death 85
- Cobbett, Mr., imprisoned and fined for a libel on the German legion v, 410. his remarks on the trial of queen Caroline vi, 429. 434. 436. becomes member for Oldham vii, 393
- Cochrane, lord, convicted of a fraud at the stock-exchange vi, 148. his degradation and imprisonment 149. is re-elected member for Westminster, *ib.* his escape from prison, and re-capture 201. is appointed commander of the Chilian navy 400
- , Sir Alexander, assists in the capture of the city of Washington vi, 156. makes an unsuccessful attack on Baltimore 159
- Cockerell, Mr., purchase of the *relievos* discovered by him at Phigalia by parliament vi, 328
- Codrington, Sir Edward, commands the combined squadrons of

- Great Britain, France, and Russia vii, 155. gains the victory at Navarino 156
- Coghlan, lieutenant, gallant exploit of iv, 456
- Colburg taken by the Russians i, 145
- Collier, Sir George, his support of the British incursion in Connecticut ii, 418. causes the disaster of the Americans at Penobscot 421. resigns his naval command, ib.
- Collingwood, admiral, takes his station off Cadiz to watch the Spanish fleet v, 119. his admirable manœuvres to bring the enemy to action 124. his inimitable skill and gallantry in the battle of Trafalgar 128. assumes the chief command after the death of Nelson 132. honors conferred on him 135. his active and judicious co-operation with the Spanish patriots 235. his death 409
- Columbia, its emancipation from Spain vi, 400. Bolivar elected its first president 401
- Combermere, lord, his siege and capture of Bhurtpoor vii, 72. he is raised to the dignity of viscount 75
- Commercial panic vii, 88. measures adopted for its relief by the legislature 95
- Condé, prince of, commander of the army of the Lower Rhine i, 197
- , garrison of, surrenders to the allies iv, 121. recaptured by the French 208
- Connecticut, expedition in by the British ii, 418
- Constantine, grand duke, his renunciation of the throne of Russia vii, 93
- Contractors excluded from a seat in the house of commons iii, 139
- Conway, lieutenant-general, deprived of his commission for his vote in favor of Wilkes i, 257. becomes secretary of state in the Rockingham administration 287. is superseded 379. his plan of reconciliation with the American provinces iii, 22
- Cook, captain, his voyage to the South seas under the patronage of George III. i, 414. his death ii, 273
- Coote, colonel, invests and takes Pondicherry i, 139. defeats Hyder Ali iii, 75. 78. his death 80
- Copenhagen, battle of v, 18
- Copley, Sir John, (lord Lyndhurst) his powerful opposition to the catholic claims vii, 119. becomes lord chancellor 128. advocates the removal of catholic restrictions 197. displaced by lord Brougham 262. whom he succeeds 401. again relinquishes office 414
- Corbett, major, surrenders St. Helier into the hands of the French iii, 84. is tried by a court-martial, and dismissed the service 85
- Corn, new legislative regulations respecting v, 88. fresh prohibitory duties vi, 197. their unpopularity 198. discussion on their nature and tendency vii, 393.
- Cornish, admiral, commands the fleet in the Manilla expedition i, 207

- Cornwallis, lord, arrives in America ii, 231. his campaign in the Jerseys 264. takes possession of Philadelphia 317. opens the passage of the Delaware 320. defeats the Americans at Camden iii, 42. his acts of severity 43. his unsuccessful campaign in Virginia 97. engages the enemy at Guildford court-house 98. retreats to the Chesapeak 104. is besieged in York-town 105. surrenders to Washington 107. his judicious government in India iv, 11. his spirited conduct to Tippoo 64. is compelled to retreat 66. besieges Seringapatam 69. grants peace to Tippoo 72. his kind reception of his sons as hostages 73. arrives in England, and is created a marquis 75. is appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland 357. his judicious administration, *ib.* succeeds the marquis Wellesley in India, and reverses his political system vi, 256. his death 257
- Corporation and test acts, unsuccessful motion for their abolition iii, 325. repeal of vii, 166
- Corporations, their reform effected by government vii, 351
- Corresponding societies, their nature and object iv, 259
- Corsicans, their resistance to the oppressions of the Genoese i, 273. their fortresses occupied by French troops 274. their island purchased for the French from the Genoese 388. incorporated into the dominions of Louis XV. 389. are reduced by lord Hood iv, 184
- Cortes, Spanish, their decrees annulled by Ferdinand on his liberation vi, 134. restoration of their power 449
- , Portuguese, their meeting, and the acceptance of the constitution by the king vi, 478
- Coruña, battle of v, 279
- Covent-garden theatre, its destruction by fire v, 344
- Cradock, Sir John, his active exertions for the independence of Portugal v, 298. endeavors, without success, to secure Cadiz to the Spanish patriots 300. measures adopted by him for the security of Lisbon, *ib.*
- Crawford, general, his death and funeral honors at Ciudad Rodrigo vi, 29
- Cricklade, disfranchisement of iii, 140
- Crillon, duc de, his attack on Minorca iii, 88. captures that fortress 126. his unsuccessful attack on Gibraltar 161
- Crosby, alderman, is committed to the Tower by the house of commons during his mayoralty ii, 44. is released 45
- Crown-point, conquest of, by the Americans ii, 185. abandoned by them 230
- Cuesta, general, his choleric and arbitrary conduct v, 256. his resistance to the orders of the junta 259. is promoted to the command of the Spanish army 295. embarrasses the movements of lord Wellington 311. suffers a shameful repulse 316. his conference with lord Wellington 317. is rescued from a dangerous position 326. resigns his command, *ib.*
- Cumberland, William, duke of, forms a political connexion with the duke of Newcastle i, 191. endeavors to form a new administration, but is unsuccessful 285. his death 288

- Cumberland, duke of, son of George III. wounded in his sleep by his valet v, 364
 Curacao, island of, places itself under British protection iv, 457. surrenders to commodore Brisbane v, 206
 Curtis, captain, his gallant conduct at the siege of Gibraltar iii, 163. his signal humanity 164
 Custom-house in London, its conflagration vi, 152

D.

- Dalrymple, Sir Hew, censured by a court-martial for signing the convention of Cintra v, 252
 Dampierre, general, his death iv, 120
 Dance, captain, extraordinary instance of his gallantry v, 96
 Danton, his ferocious spirit iv, 30, 118. his memorable words previous to his death 136
 Dantzic, its capture by the French v, 194
 Davoust, marshal, defeats the Prussians at Auerstadt v, 174. delivers Paris to the allies vi, 244
 Davy, Sir Humphrey, his discovery of the safety-lamp vi, 326. honors conferred on him 327
 Dawson, Daniel, his trial and execution for poisoning race-horses vi, 60
 Deane, Silas, his mission to France ii, 249. obtains a supply of arms and ammunition 250
 Debates in parliament, publication of, established ii, 41
 Deccan, campaign in the vi, 280. is emancipated from the sovereignty of Bajee Row by the British 292
 Declaratory act passed i, 313
 De Grasse, admiral, defeated and captured by Rodney iii, 147
 De Guichen, his defeat by Rodney iii, 34. forms a junction with the Spanish fleet 160. is baffled by lord Howe, ib.
 De Launay, governor of the Bastille, murder of iii, 428
 Denmark, its alliance with Russia and Sweden, in opposition to the right of search v, 2. is compelled to renounce the northern confederacy 23. delivers up its fleet to Great Britain 200. her West Indian islands captured by that power 210. makes peace with Great Britain vi, 117. deprived of Norway by the congress of Vienna 185
 Dennewitz, battle of vi, 76
 Derby, popular disturbances at vi, 339. trial and execution of the rioters, ib. disturbances at vii, 293
 Desaix, general, his death on the plain of Marengo iv, 452
 Despard, colonel, his trial and execution v, 59
 D'Estaing, his conquests in the island of Sumatra i, 139. is despatched with a fleet to America ii, 383. his unsuccessful attack on Rhode island 385. is shamefully repulsed by admiral Barrington 389. captures St. Vincent's and Grenada 411. his failure at Tobago 412. his pusillanimous conduct, ib. attempts ineffectually to reduce Savannah 415. returns to France 416

- De Suffrein, his engagements with the British fleet iii, 76
- Detroit, fort, preserved from the ravages of the American Indians i, 265
- Directory in France, establishment of iv, 257. its dissolution by Bonaparte 430
- Dissenters, unsuccessful attempts to relieve them from subscription ii, 52
- Dodd, Dr., convicted of forgery, and executed ii, 287
- Doggerbank, engagement on the, between admiral Parker and the Dutch fleet iii, 89
- Dolben, Sir William, his motion for alleviating the sufferings of slaves during the middle passage carried iii, 376
- Domingo, St., its surrender to Toussaint iv, 374. under whom it successfully resists the French arms v, 51
- Dominica, capture of, by the British i, 138. is taken by the French ii, 389
- Donnop, count, his gallant death in the attack on fort Mifflin ii, 320
- Donoobew, assault of, by the British troops vii, 59
- Douglas, Sir James, captures Dominica i, 138. ravages the country of the Cherokees, ib.
- , Sir John and lady, their testimony against the princess of Wales v, 148
- Draper, Sir William, commands the expedition against Manilla, i, 207
- Dresden, defeat of the allies at vi, 76
- Drury-lane theatre, its destruction by fire v, 344
- Dublin, dangerous insurrection at v, 75
- Duckworth, Sir J. T., captures three French line-of-battle ships v, 165. forces the passage of the Dardanelles 201. is compelled to retreat 202
- Dugommier, general, commander of the republican forces at the siege of Toulon iv, 143. his powerful recommendation of Napoleon 147. his death 207
- Dumanoir, base and ferocious conduct of, at the battle of Trafalgar v, 132. the ships under his command surrender to Sir Richard Strahan 135
- Dumas, M., his conference with the French ambassador at the Hague ii, 248
- Dumouriez, general, minister for foreign affairs to Louis XVI. iv, 15. acquires a high military reputation 32. gains the battle of Jemappe 33. arrests the republican commissioners who summon him to Paris 117. escapes to the Austrian camp, ib.
- Duncan, admiral, defeats the Dutch fleet at the Texel iv, 318. is raised to the peerage 319
- Dundas, Mr., (lord Melville) lord advocate of Scotland, supports the measures of Mr. Pitt iii, 67. appointed treasurer of the navy 209. his firmness 213. forms the plan of the expedition to Egypt v, 30. is impeached by the house of commons for cor-

- rupt practices 105. his name erased from the list of privy counsellors 114. his trial and acquittal 160
 Dunkirk ineffectually besieged by the duke of York iv, 123
 Dunmore, lord, expelled from the government of Virginia by popular violence ii, 190. his unsuccessful resistance ib.
 Dunning, Mr., his motions on the increase of crown influence iii, 16. is defeated 19
 Dupont, general, surrounded by the Andalusian forces v, 219. his surrender at Baylen ib.
 Durham, lord, remarkable speech of, in favor of the reform bill vii, 306

E.

- East India company augment their dividends i, 185. oppressive conduct of their servants 345. 355. their remonstrances with the governor and council 358. embarrassed state of their finances ii, 72. interference of government 73. obtain a loan 81. desperate state of their affairs at the commencement of Warren Hastings's administration 288. coalition formed by native powers to expel them from their territories iii, 32. alteration in their state by the bill of Mr. Pitt 255. empowered to make an addition to their stock 294. improvements in their government, ib. declaratory bill 354. extension of their influence and territory under lord Cornwallis iv, 73. advantages derived from the administration of lord Wellesley 411. review of their state from that period to 1823 vi, 256. lord Amherst's administration vii, 35. settlement of their charter, and circumscription of their monopoly 349
 East Retford, borough of, convicted of corruption vii, 145
 Egremont, lord, succeeds Mr. Pitt as foreign secretary i, 158. his death 245
 Egypt, its invasion by the French iv, 361. evacuated by capitulation v, 29. its occupation by general Fraser, who is compelled to retreat 203
 El Arisch, battle of iv, 427
 Eldon, lord, created lord chancellor v, 10. his opposition to the remission of capital punishments vi, 358. his aversion to the policy of Mr. Canning 483. his vehement opposition to all schemes of reform vii, 81. relinquishes office at the commencement of Mr. Canning's administration 127. his opposition to the repeal of the test and corporation acts 167. and to the emancipation of the catholics 200
 Elgin marbles, their purchase by parliament vi, 327
 Elizabeth, empress of Russia, her death i, 192
 Ellenborough, lord chief-justice, admitted to a seat in the cabinet v, 146. his mortification at the trial of Mr. Hone vi, 340. his death 360
 Elley, Sir John, his remarkable intrepidity and strength at Waterloo vi, 226

- Elliot, general, (lord Heathfield) his gallant defence of Gibraltar iii, 161. is raised to the peerage, with a pension 164
- Ellis, Mr., seizes the city of Patna i, 347. is made prisoner, *ib.* is cruelly assassinated with his infant child 350
- Elphinstone, admiral, captures a Dutch squadron iv, 288
- Ely, riots at vi, 315
- Emmett, leader of the insurrection in Dublin v, 75. his trial and execution 77
- Enghien, duc d', seized in the territory of Baden by the orders of Napoleon v, 90. tried by a military tribunal, and shot 91
- Erskine, Mr., his eloquent defence of Horne Tooke, &c. iv, 179. created lord chancellor v, 146
- Eutaw springs, battle of iii, 101
- Exmouth, lord, his gallant encounter with a French frigate iv, 149. his services in the channel 182. his daring proposal to lord Bridport 336. instance of his generosity 374. quells a mutiny at Bantry-bay 425. his mission to Algiers vi, 317. appointed to the command of an expedition against that city 319. his attack 321. results of the victory 324. honors conferred on him 325. he is raised to the dignity of a viscount, *ib.*

F.

- Factory bill, its nature vii, 350
- Farrington Market, opening of vii, 222
- Fayette, marquis de la, embarks in the American cause ii, 251. is wounded in the battle at the Brandywine 316. defeated by the British 378. urges the execution of major André iii, 48. fails in his design of capturing Arnold 94. appointed by the Parisians to the command of the national guard 429. endeavors to arrest the progress of the revolution 465. resigns his command of the national guard iv, 15. is compelled to seek safety in the Austrian lines 31. severe remarks on his character by Mr. Burke 167. is released from prison at Olmutz by the intervention of Bonaparte 337
- Ferdinand, prince of Brunswick, defeats the French at Kirchdenkern i, 146
- VII., prince of the Asturias, his enmity to Godoy v, 213. proclaimed king of Spain 214. is persuaded by Savary to meet Napoleon at Bayonne 215. resigns the crown of Spain into his hands, and is put into confinement 217. is restored to liberty vi, 133. his ingratitude and cruelty 134. re-establishes the inquisition 135. detects a formidable conspiracy 348. his rigorous punishments 400. compelled to recall the Cortes 449. restored to arbitrary power by a French army vii, 4. becomes unpopular with the ultra royalists 94. abolishes the Salique law in Spain 270. his death, and succession of his infant daughter 356
- Ferguson, general, his gallantry at the battle of Vimiero v, 249

- Ferris, captain, his successful manœuvre at the mouth of the Garonne v, 466
- Figueras, capture of, by the republicans iv, 208
- Finland, its occupation by the emperor Alexander v, 233
- Fitzherbert, Mr., signs provisional articles of peace with the American commissioners iii, 166
- Fleurus, battle of iv, 196
- Flushing, its capture by the British v, 340. demolition of its defences and basin 341
- Fontainebleau, preliminaries of peace signed at i, 212. the terms of that treaty 216. opposed by Mr. Pitt 222
- Forster, captain, his gallantry and humanity contrasted with the bad conduct of the Americans ii, 227
- Fox, Mr. Charles, his entrance on public life ii, 6. joins the opposition 112. made secretary of state iii, 132. his junction with lord North 171. introduction of his India bill 202. his contest with Pitt for political power 216. his quarrel with Burke iv, 6. his name erased from the list of privy counsellors 386. resumes office after the death of Mr. Pitt v, 146. his death and character 163
- Foy, general, his frightful cruelties vi, 79
- Francis, Mr., wounded in a duel with Warren Hastings ii, 297
- Franklin, Dr., chosen agent for Massachusetts i, 312. forwards the correspondence of Hutchinson and Oliver to his province ii, 97. his dignified demeanor before the privy council 101. his departure from England 167. appointed by congress to superintend the post-office 175. suggests the adoption of paper-money 176. his letter to M. Dumas 226. his reply to the offers of lord Howe 240. is present at a conference with lord Howe on Staten island 244. his endeavors to procure aid from France 246. he narrowly escapes captivity 252. gives a decisive turn to the counsels of the French court 347. ambassador at the French court 368
- Fraser, major-general Mackenzie, his unsuccessful expedition to Egypt v, 203
- Frazer, general, defeats the American forces under general Thompson ii, 228
- Frederic III., king of Prussia, loses Schweidnitz i, 145. extricated from his difficulties by the death of the czarina 192. his subsidy from Great Britain discontinued 194. concludes the peace of Hubertsburg 224. his aversion to form connexions with Great Britain 328. his resentment against George III. iii, 110. his death 308
- _____, duke of York, his birth i, 247. is sent to command the British army in Flanders iv, 120. gains possession of Valenciennes 121. is defeated at Hondscote, and compelled to retreat from Dunkirk 123. is defeated at Turcoing, and narrowly escapes captivity 193. returns to England 212. again appointed to the command of an expedition to Holland 422. compelled to re-embark 425. resigns his office of commander-

in-chief in consequence of the charges exhibited against him v, 287. his restoration to his former office 420. appointed guardian of the king's person at the demise of the queen vi, 366. his memorable protest against the catholic claims 462. his popularity with the high church party, *ib.* his renewed opposition to catholic emancipation vii, 78. his death 115
 Friedland, battle of v, 194
 Fullarton, Mr., his duel with the earl of Shelburne iii, 15

G.

Gage, general, appointed governor of Massachusetts ii, 132. removes the legislature to Salem, *ib.* he fortifies Boston-neck 135. his resistance to the provincial congress 137. sends a fruitless expedition to secure stores at Salem 171. another unsuccessful attempt to destroy the ammunitions, &c. at Concord 172. is superseded by general Howe 185
 Gambier, admiral, obtains possession of the Danish fleet v, 200
 Ganganelli, pope, his death and character ii, 131
 Garrick, David, his retirement from the stage ii, 221
 Gas lights, their introduction in London v, 346
 Gates, general, commands the army destined to arrest the invasion of general Burgoyne ii, 325. surrounds the British at Saratoga 328. accepts their capitulation 330. his signal delicacy and humanity 331. appointed to the command in South Carolina iii, 41. defeated by lord Cornwallis at Camden 42. is superseded by general Greene 43
 Genoa applies to France for assistance against the Corsicans i, 273. conventional treaty between the two countries, *ib.* its surrender to the Austrians iv, 448. re-occupied by the French 452. is captured by lord William Bentinck vi, 136. transferred to the king of Sardinia by the congress of Vienna 152
 George III. succeeds to the throne i, 122. is secretly guided by lord Bute 129. falls from his horse 131. his admirable reprimand of Dr. Wilson, *ib.* recommends the appointment of judges for life 134. selects the princess Charlotte Sophia for his future queen 161. his nuptials, 164. his coronation 165. issues a declaration of war against Spain 185. his patronage of literature and the fine arts 213. erases the name of lord Temple from the list of privy counsellors 244. his interview with Mr. Pitt 245. his inflexibility in imposing a direct tax on America 259. his encouragement of domestic manufactures 284. takes disgust at the Grenville administration, and endeavors to form a new one 285. but is compelled to retain his former cabinet 286. his answer to the remonstrance of the livery of London ii, 12. is addressed by alderman Beckford 21. his domestic habits and skill in agriculture 50. signs the order for military interference during the riots in London iii, 26. exhibits a remarkable instance of dignity and self-command 111. holds a naval levee at the Nore 125. his perplexities at the formation of the coali-

- tion ministry 179. his interview with Mr. Adams 194. his disgust at the coalition ministry 201. he dissolves it, and selects Mr. Pitt as prime minister 208. his efficient support of that statesman 217. his dignified determination 225. his answer to the proposed interview between the duke of Portland and Mr. Pitt 237. dissolves the parliament 245. stabbed by Margaret Nicholson 303. his displeasure at the conduct of the heir apparent 307. publishes his letters to Arthur Young 355. his domestic habits and benevolence 356. is seized with illness accompanied with mental derangement 380. his recovery 401. public thanksgiving on that event 402. his admiration of Burke's treatise on the French revolution 467. remarkable instance of his coolness and intrepidity iv, 259. his life threatened, and character defamed 267. his life twice in danger during one day 445. his generous protection of the princess of Wales v, 150. dismisses the whig administration in consequence of their advocacy of the catholics 185. jubilee at the commencement of the fiftieth year of his reign 343. incurable recurrence of his mental derangement 366. his death and character vi, 404.
- George IV., his birth i, 212. separate establishment appointed for him ii, 50. his elegant accomplishments, and connexions iii, 123. his expensive habits 190. attaches himself to Mr. Fox and the whig party 215. forms an acquaintance with Mrs. Fitzherbert, and involves himself in pecuniary embarrassments 307. his debts liquidated by a parliamentary grant 334. his first speech in parliament, against revolutionary clubs iv, 50. his marriage 234. is separated from his wife 267. settlement of his income by parliament v, 43. his injudicious application to his father for efficient military rank 73. changes his sentiments with regard to catholic emancipation 104. institutes an investigation of the conduct of the princess 148. relieves her from her pecuniary difficulties 344. he is invested with the regency 370. retains the Perceval administration at the expiration of the restrictions vi, 5. his arrangements of military dress 67. his unpopularity at the visit of the allied sovereigns 145. his habits of seclusion 313. is assaulted by the mob on his return from the house of lords 328. makes a cession of £50,000 per annum to the public exigences 330. converts Buckingham-house into a palace for the reigning monarch 364. his accession to the throne 404. his dangerous illness 405. prosecution of his queen on a charge of adultery 438. his unpopularity 440. again appears in public 468. celebration of his coronation 471. arrives in Ireland 474. his enthusiastic reception at Dublin, ib. visits Hanover 477. his encouragement of literature, ib. his visit to Scotland 500. his donation of the library of George III. to the public vii, 14. secludes himself from public observation 173. is reluctantly compelled to yield catholic emancipation 184. his final sickness 240. his death and character 242
- Georgia, the assembly of, petitions the British legislature against the stamp act i, 301. military operations in ii, 413

- Geriah, battle of i, 348
- Germaine, (Sackville) lord George, made secretary for the American department ii, 200. raised to the peerage iii, 128
- Germans, their troops hired by Great Britain to repress the insurrection in America ii, 207
- Gerona, its siege and capture by the French v, 330
- Ghent, conferences at, respecting the American war vi, 153. treaty of peace concluded at 175
- Gibbs, general, his arrival at New Orleans vi, 166. his gallantry at the siege of that place 173
- Gibraltar besieged by the Spaniards ii, 408. relieved by Rodney iii, 34. distress of its garrison 85. furious bombardment of by the Spaniards 86. works of the besiegers destroyed 88. siege and relief of 161
- Girondists, a powerful party in France at the revolution iv, 13. its leaders denounced and executed 117
- Glasgow, riots at vi, 412. apprehension and punishment of the ringleaders 413
- Glocester, duke of, elected chancellor of Cambridge v, 468
- Godoy, Emanuel, chief minister of the king of Spain v, 207. his enmity to Ferdinand 213. prevails on Charles IV. to resign his crown to Napoleon 217
- Gold coast, British settlements on, attacked by the Ashantees, who are compelled to retreat vii, 28
- Goorkalese defeated by general Ochterlony vi, 272. conclude a treaty of peace with the British 275
- Gordon, lord George, his intemperate invective on the king's speech iii, 4. his inflammatory language to the populace 23. his violence repressed in the house of commons 24. committed to prison 27. acquitted of high treason 30. his death, ib.
- Goree, its capture by the British iv, 457
- Graaf, Van, governor of St. Eustatia, his partiality to the American cause ii, 286. his recall demanded by Sir Joseph Yorke, ib.
- Græme, colonel, is deputed by George III. to select a fit consort for him i, 161
- Grafton, duke of, is appointed secretary of state i, 287. is placed at the head of the treasury 325. chancellor of the university of Cambridge 415. resigns office ii, 200. his death v, 467
- Graham, general, (lord Lynedoch) defeats the French at Barosa v, 482. storms the fortress of St. Sebastian vi, 97. fails in his attack on Bergen-op-Zoom 121
- Grampond, borough of, its corruption vi, 397. bill for its disfranchisement introduced 415. transfer of its privileges to the county of York 464
- Grand Cairo captured by the French iv, 362
- Grant, colonel, ravages the country of the Cherokees i, 138
- Grattan, Mr., his patriotic efforts iv, 105. his name erased from the list of privy counsellors 386. his death vi, 448
- Graves, admiral, dreadful losses sustained by his fleet iii, 160
- Greeks, their resistance to Turkish oppression vi, 478. horrible

- cruelties inflicted on 498. injurious treatment of, at the congress of Verona 504. their cause advocated by Great Britain, France, and Russia vii, 153. choose Capo d'Istria as their first governor 181. narrow boundaries of their territories 208. prince Leopold refuses to become their king 271. are rent asunder by civil commotions 298. appoint Otho of Bavaria their king 352
- Greene, major-general, his able support of Washington ii, 258. is appointed by congress to supersede general Gates iii, 43. urges the execution of major André 48. his masterly retreat from lord Cornwallis 97. succeeds in recovering part of Georgia, and the two Carolinas 100. attacks the British at Eutaw springs 101. rewarded by congress 102. recovers Charleston 155. honors awarded to him 156
- Grenada, capture of i, 203
- Grenville, Mr. George, his character by Burke i, 116. secretary of state 191. prime minister 238. is urged by George III. to propose a direct tax on America 259. offends the princess dowager 282. opposes the expulsion of Wilkes 427. introduces a bill for regulating the proceedings of the commons on elections ii, 16. which is made permanent 107
- , Mr., (lord Grenville) sent to Paris to open negotiations for peace at the close of the American war iii, 144. carries certain amendments to his father's bill for regulating the trial of controverted elections 370. is advanced to the peerage iv, 56. his correspondence with M. Chauvelin 85. his communications with M. Otto on the subject of a general peace 461. his resignation of office v, 9. assumes the head of the government at the death of Mr. Pitt 146. dissolution of his ministry 185. is installed chancellor of the university of Oxford 410. refuses to join the ministry vi, 11
- Grey, major-general, surprises the Americans under general Wayne ii, 317
- , Mr., (earl Grey) his spirited invective against the measures of Mr. Pitt iv, 48. introduces an unsuccessful measure of reform into the house of commons 101. opposes Mr. Pitt's bill for the prevention of seditious meetings 262. obtains the office of foreign secretary at the death of Mr. Fox v, 165. his refusal to join the ministry of Mr. Perceval vi, 11. opposes the ministry of Mr. Canning vii, 139. supports the duke of Wellington's catholic relief bill 199. expresses his want of confidence in the general measures of his government 246. is appointed first lord of the treasury 262. introduces the reform bill into the house of lords 285. his great popularity on the rejection of that measure 291. again introduces it into the house of peers 303. resigns office 318. is reinstated 325. carries the reform bill 326. retires from office 369
- Grimaldi, marquis de, his answer to the American embassy to Spain ii, 254
- Gross-Beeren, battle of vi, 76
- Guadeloupe, its reduction by the British iv, 182. v. 375. ceded to Sweden vi, 71

- Guichen, M. de, joins the Spanish admiral in an attack on Minorca iii, 88
 Gustavus III., king of Sweden, procures the restoration of regal power ii, 66

H.

- Hales, Dr. Stephen, his death i, 183
 Halifax, lord, viceroy of Ireland i, 174. his disinterested conduct 176. is at the head of the admiralty 191. secretary of state 238. issues a general warrant, for the apprehension of the authors, printers, and publishers of the North Briton, No. xlv. 242. a verdict of £1000 damages pronounced against him by the court of common pleas for the illegal arrest of Mr. Wilkes 252
 Hamburg occupied by the French troops v, 175. declared by Napoleon a part of the French empire 425
 Hamilton, lord Archibald, his unsuccessful attempt to reform the representation of Scotland vii, 7
 Handel, George Frederic, commemoration in honor of iii, 260
 Hanover seized by the French v, 78. transferred to Prussia 139. annexed to the kingdom of Westphalia by Bonaparte 372. resumes its ancient dynasty vi, 77. recognised as a kingdom by the congress of Vienna 151.
 Harcourt, earl of, appointed viceroy of Ireland ii, 89. his excellent administration, ib.
 Hardy, Sir Charles, protects the channel against the incursion of the French and Spanish fleets ii, 409
 —, Mr. Thomas, arrested on a charge of high treason iv, 162. brought to trial 177. acquitted 178
 Harris, general, besieges and captures Seringapatam iv, 399
 Harrison, Mr., obtains a reward from parliament for his time-keeper ii, 87
 —, a factious demagogue, his trial and conviction vi, 383
 Hastings, Warren, is appointed president of Bengal ii, 288. his character, and the nature of his government 289. obtains the collection and disbursement of the revenue 291. bargains for the subjugation of the Rohillas with the vizir of Oude 293. instances of his shameful rapacity and cruelty 294. obtains an ascendancy in the council 296. fights a duel with Mr. Francis 297. oppression and imprisonment of Cheyte Sing 298. treatment of the female relatives of that unfortunate prince 299. plunders the mother and widow of Sujah Dowla 301. his extortions to Fyzoolla Khan, ib. resigns his office, and embarks for England 304. his conduct incurs the censure of the house of commons iii, 143. is impeached by Mr. Burke 298. various charges preferred against him carried in the commons 334. taken into custody, and admitted to bail 343. opening of the trial at Westminster-hall 359. its continuation iv, 1. conclusion of the trial 231. rewards conferred on him by the company 232

- Havannah, siege of, i, 204. is captured 207
 Haynes, colonel, condemned and executed as a traitor by the British iii, 101
 Helier, St., its capture by the French iii, 84. who are compelled to relinquish their conquest 85
 Henley, lord, character of i, 116. becomes lord chancellor 134
 Henry, Patrick, his violence in the Virginian assembly i, 291
 Hexham, riots at i, 135
 Hill, Sir Rowland, his remarkable exploit at Arroyo Molino v, 463. his brilliant attack on the bridge of Almaraz vi, 43
 Hislop, Sir Thomas, commands the army of the Deccan vi, 280
 Hoadley, Dr., his death i, 183
 Hoche, general, his successes in La Vendée iv, 246. attempts to effect a landing in Ireland, but is compelled to retreat 288
 Hodgson, general, commands the forces at the siege of, Belleisle i, 138
 Hohenlinden, battle of iv, 454
 Holderness, lord, character of i, 117. resigns his office of secretary of state. 137
 Holkar, reduction of his power by the marquis Wellesley iv, 408. reduced by lord Lake to sue for peace vi, 259. his ferocious disposition 260. his death 263
 Hondscote, battle of iv, 123
 Hone, Mr., his trial and acquittal for the publication of political parodies on the Litany vi, 340
 Hood, lord, his conquest of Corsica iv, 184
 Hope, Sir John, his capture by the French vi, 133
 Horne Tooke, his struggles with Wilkes for notoriety ii, 31. establishes the Constitutional Society 32. is summoned by the commons for a libel on the speaker, and discharged 107. publishes a seditious libel 195. his trial and sentence, ib. apprehended on a charge of high treason iv, 162. brought to trial 178. is acquitted 180. retains his seat as member of Old Sarum v, 14
 Hornsby, William, esq., incurs the censure of the house of commons iii, 143
 Horsley, Dr., supports a bill for the exemption of catholics from the operation of penal laws iv, 9
 Horton, Mrs. married to the duke of Cumberland ii, 58
 Hoste, captain, his gallant exploit off the island of Lissa v, 465
 Hotham, admiral, damps the ardor of Nelson in the Mediterranean iv, 242
 Houchard, general, defeats the duke of York, and compels him to raise the siege of Dunkirk iv, 123. is condemned and executed by a revolutionary tribunal 124
 Houses, repeal of the duty on vii, 397
 Howard, Mr., his death, and eulogy by Burke iii, 468
 Howe, general, appointed to serve in America ii, 177. assists in the defeat of the Americans at Bunker's hill 180. endeavors to compass his designs on New York by effecting a landing on Staten island 236. gains possession of New York 256. attacks

- Washington's lines on White Plains 257. captures fort Washington 258. his skilful movements in the Jerseys 314. defeats Washington in the battle of the Brandywine 316. is recalled 379. inquiry into his conduct 402
- Howe, lord, arrives in America as a mediator, in behalf of the British government ii, 240. his address to Washington, and correspondence with Franklin, *ib.* holds a conference with a deputation from congress 244. his relief of Gibraltar iii, 164. his glorious victory over the French fleet iv, 185. honors awarded to him for his gallantry 187. obtains a redress of grievances for the seamen at Spithead 306
- Hubertsburg, treaty concluded at, between Austria and Prussia i, 224
- Huddy, captain Joshua, captured and executed by the American loyalists iii, 157
- Hughes, Sir Edward, storms Trincomalee iii, 76. his conflicts with de Suffrein 77
- Hull, general, surrender of his force to the British in Canada vi, 17
- Humbert, general, makes a descent on the Irish coast, in support of the rebels iv, 358. defeats general Lake, *ib.* is defeated by lord Cornwallis, *ib.*
- Hungary, queen of, concludes the peace of Hubertsburg i, 224
- Hunt, Mr. Henry, presides at seditious assemblies in Spa-fields vi, 316. 331. takes the chair at the Manchester meeting 382. his imprisonment on a charge of high treason 386. the charge abandoned, and he enters publicly into London 387. his conviction and sentence for sedition 388. elected member for Preston vii, 265
- Huskisson, Mr., his opposition to the depreciation of the currency vi, 487. becomes president of the board of trade 507. is chosen to represent Liverpool at the resignation of Mr. Canning vii, 2. his able advocacy of the principles of free trade 21. 84. 98. his adherence to place 152. his differences with the duke of Wellington 161. his premature resignation of office 169. his melancholy accident and death 266
- Hutchinson, Mr., succeeds Sir Francis Bernard in the government of Massachusetts ii, 36. his disputes with the house of representatives 90. his private correspondence with the British government inspected by Dr. Franklin 97. laid before the privy council 98. their report 102. he dissolves the assembly 104. is superseded by general Gage 132
- _____, general, succeeds to the command of the British army after the death of Abercromby v, 28. reduces Grand Cairo, *ib.* gains possession of Alexandria, and wrests Egypt from French usurpation 29
- _____, Mr., his spirited invective against the corruption of the house of commons v, 290
- _____, captain, assists in effecting the escape of Lavallette vi, 250

Hyder Ali usurps the government of Mysore i, 444. is defeated by the British 445. appears before Madras, and compels the governor and council to accept terms of peace 447. his disputes with the Madras government iii, 69. his progress in the Carnatic 70. defeats the British 73. reduces Arcot, *ib.* his rage at the repulse of his army near Cuddalore 75. his death 79

I.

Ibrahim Pasha reduces the city of Navarino vii, 95

Impey, Sir Elijah, chief-justice of Bengal, his recall solicited by the house of commons iii, 143. accused of delinquency 369. the charges abandoned 370

Improvements in London i, 298. vii, 91

Incendiaries, progress of vii, 253

Income tax, oppressive nature of iv, 375. raised from six and a half to ten per cent v, 157. its abolition vi, 150

India, bill for the regulation of, carried iii, 257. first steam vessel to vii, 92

Ireland, disturbances in i, 177. suppressed by the military, *ib.* committee appointed by the house of commons for a revision of her trade-laws ii, 363. opposition of the merchants of Liverpool and Bristol, *ib.* lord Nugent's motion regarding the trade of, defeated 405. resolution of merchants of, *ib.* armed associations in that country, and effects of them, *ib.* efforts in favor of free-trade 480. riots in favor of a short money-bill, *ib.* propositions introduced by lord North for the relief of iii, 6. establishment of its legislative independence 139. its rejection of the plan of commercial intercourse proposed by Mr. Pitt 275. popular meetings, and prosecutions by government 276. popular commotions in iv, 109. an association formed under the title of United Irishmen, for the promotion of civil and religious liberty 108. relaxation of penal enactments against Roman catholics 111. a college established at Maynooth for the education of the catholic priesthood 237. increase of revolutionary principles 238. formation of Orange societies 239. institution of armed yeomanry 240. intercourse established with the French directory 241. origin, progress, and close of the great rebellion 342. its union with Great Britain v, 1. dreadful insurrections in 75. restrictions on public liberty in vi, 150. suspension of *habeas corpus* 481. dreadful famine in, *ib.* suppression of unlawful associations in vii, 77. disfranchisement of forty-shilling freeholders in 204. reflections on its disturbed and unsettled state 217

Irish church reform bill passed into a law vii, 345. dissensions among the whig cabinet respecting its appropriation 360

Jackson, general, his gallant defence of New Orleans vi, 100. his disinterested conduct 174

Jaffa, its capture by Bonaparte iv, 427

Jasper, sergeant, his gallantry during the attack on Sullivan's island ii, 233

Java, conquest of, by the British v, 467

- Jemappe, battle of iv, 33
- Jena, battle of v, 173. university of, zeal of its students for the restoration of civil liberty vi, 347
- Jenner, Dr., is rewarded by parliament for the introduction of vaccine inoculation v, 48
- Jersey, its invasion by the French iii, 84. who are compelled to relinquish its possession 85
- Jersey, New, campaign in, by Washington ii, 263
- Jervis, captain, (earl St. Vincent) his brilliant success against the French iii, 159. rewarded with the order of the Bath 160. gains the battle of Cape St. Vincent iv, 312. raised to the peerage 314
- Jesuits completely suppressed in France i, 274. expelled from Portugal, Spain, &c. 381. the order abolished by Clement XIV. 384. causes of their downfall 385
- Johnson, Sir William, concludes a treaty with the Indian tribes of America i, 268
- , Dr., obtains a pension from George III. i, 213. advocates the expulsion of Wilkes 441. his rebuke of Junius ii, 30. his defence of American taxation 165. observations on his Taxation no Tyranny 220. his death iii, 260
- Jones, Mr. John Gale, committed to Newgate by the house of commons v, 357
- Joseph, king of Portugal, his spirited resistance to the aggressions of France and Spain i, 187
- , archduke, elected king of the Romans i, 272. endeavors to arrest the conquests of Catharine in Turkey, after his accession to the empire ii, 34. his endeavors to open the navigation of the Scheldt iii, 261. failure of his scheme for annexing Bavaria to his dominions 279. his oppressions in the Netherlands 416
- Joubert, general, slain, and his army defeated at Novi iv, 416
- Jourdan, general, defeats the Austrians at Wattignies iv, 126. removed from the chief command, ib. his gallant conduct at the battle of Fleurus 197. is hard pressed by the Austrians, and agrees to a suspension of hostilities 251. is defeated by the archduke Charles, and compelled to retreat 275. again sustains defeat from the archduke Charles 414. advises Joseph Bonaparte to avoid a battle with the British at Talavera v, 321. sustains a total defeat at Vittoria, where his baton is taken by the British vi, 87
- Joyce, Rev. Jeremiah, apprehended on a charge of high treason iv, 162. his letter to Horne Tooke 163. his acquittal 181
- Junius, his strictures on the conduct of government i, 441. his letter to the king prosecuted ii, 23
- Junot, general, remarkable instance of his gaiety and self-possession iv, 143. his endeavors to reduce the Portuguese to submission v, 239. sustains a signal defeat at Vimiero 247. evacuates Portugal in consequence of the convention of Cintra 251. captures Astorga 387

K.

- Katharine Docks, opening of vii, 179
 Keats, captain, his successful manœuvre in an action with the French and Spaniards v, 32
 Kellerman, general, his decisive charge at the battle of Marengo iv, 452.
 Kemmeline, capture of the stockades at vii, 49. repulse of the enemy at that place 55
 Kempenfeldt, admiral, succeeds in capturing twenty transports iii, 123. is lost in the *Royal George* 161
 Kenyon, lord, created chief justice of the king's bench iii, 379. his panegyric of George III. iv, 268
 Keppel, commodore, accompanies the troops at the siege of Belleisle i, 138. engages with the French off Ushant ii, 391. his dispute with Sir Hugh Palliser 392. his declarations in the house of commons 394. is acquitted honorably by a court martial 396. public rejoicings on that event, ib.
 Kilwarden, lord, his barbarous murder in the streets of Dublin v, 77
 Kingston, duchess of, her trial for bigamy ii, 218
 ———, in America, reduced to ashes by a division of Clinton's army ii, 327
 Kirchdenkern, battle of i, 146
 Kleber, general, signalises himself at the battle of Fleurus iv, 197. is left by Bonaparte in Egypt with the chief command 459. is assassinated 460
 Knyphausen, general, his skilful defence of New York iii, 43
 Kosciusko is wounded and taken prisoner in defending the liberties of Poland iv, 217
 Kozinsky seizes the person of the king of Poland ii, 46. implores his pardon 47

L.

- Labedoyère, general, joins the standard of Bonaparte vi, 192. his trial and execution 248
 Lake, general, commander-in-chief of the forces in Ireland iv, 346. defeats the rebels at Vinegar-hill 355. is defeated by the French 358
 ———, lord, his judicious advocacy of British interests in India vi, 257. reduces Holkar to sue for peace 259
 Lally, general, unsuccessful in his defence of Pondicherry i, 139. is cruelly imprisoned and executed on his return to France 142
 Lambert, brigadier-general, his gallantry at the siege of Belleisle i, 138
 ———, Daniel, his enormous size v, 346
 Landrecy taken by the duke of Saxe Coburg iv, 191
 Langara, admiral, defeated and taken prisoner by Rodney iii, 33
 Laon, battle of vi, 119
 Lasnes, marshal, gets possession of Saragossa v, 297

- Laudohn, general, evacuates Silesia i, 131. captures Schweidnitz 144
- Laurens, Mr., captured by the British, and committed to the Tower iii, 58. is released in exchange for general Burgoyne 122
- Lavallette, general, deserts to Napoleon after his return from Elba vi, 194. his trial and sentence 248. his escape from prison 250
- La Vendée, opposition to the republic in that province iv, 119. conclusion of the war in 247
- Law, Mr., assists Shah Zaddah in the invasion of Bengal i, 140. is taken prisoner by major Carnac, by whom he is generously treated, ib.
- Laybach, congress of vi, 452
- Leather duty, repeal of vii, 231
- Le Clerc, general, his successes in the West Indies v, 50. falls a victim to the climate 51
- Lee, major-general, obtains a command under Washington ii, 184. his judicious remonstrances with Washington 256. is captured by surprise 260. exchanged for general Prescott 315. his disgrace 383
- , Mr., an American agent, procures promises of aid from France ii, 246. his mission to the court of Spain 263
- Leeward Islands, motion respecting the, in the house of commons vii, 9
- Legge, Mr., his character, i, 114. is dismissed from office 137
- Leipsic, battle of vi, 77
- Lexington, defeat of the king's troops at ii, 172
- Ligny, battle of vi, 206
- Lincoln, general, defeated by colonel Maitland ii, 415. joins with d'Estaing in an ineffectual attempt to reduce Savannah, ib. is captured, with his garrison, at Charleston iii, 40
- Liverpool, lord, becomes premier vi, 13. introduces the bill of pains and penalties against queen Caroline 440. his relinquishment of that measure 445. seized with an incurable paralytic attack vii, 116. his death and character 177
- and Manchester railway, opening of vii, 266
- Loano, battle of iv, 245
- Loison, general, his cruelties in Portugal v, 240
- London, riots in iii, 23. chapels and dwelling-houses of catholics destroyed 24. prisons, &c. burnt 26. suppression of tumults, ib. trials of the rioters 30. tumults at, in consequence of the high price of provisions iv, 461. alarming riots in consequence of the enactment of the corn laws vi, 196. seditious meetings at 314
- Corresponding Society, its nature and objects iv, 45. 161
- University, opening of vii, 179
- Long Island, gallant expedition of the Americans against ii, 313
- Louis XV. concludes peace with Great Britain i, 235. his arbitrary suppression of parliaments ii, 48. his death 180
- XVI., his marriage with Marie Antoinette ii, 35. succeeds

- to the crown of France 130. dissensions with his parliaments iii, 423. assembles the states-general 425. compelled to quit Versailles and return to Paris by popular insurrection 436. his flight, and capture at Varennes iv, 12. his palace at the Tuilleries assaulted by an armed rabble 25. his admirable firmness, *ib.* murder of his Swiss guards 30. is deposed 77. executed 90.
- Louis XVIII. establishes his abode in Great Britain v, 210. his public entry into London on his restoration vi, 138. arrives in Paris 139. ratifies a treaty with the allies, *ib.* quits the capital at the approach of Napoleon 194. repairs to Ghent, *ib.* returns to Paris with the allies 244. his death vii, 31
- Philippe raised to the French throne vii, 252
- Louisa, princess, sister of George III., her death i, 414
- Louisiana sold to the United States v, 79. unfortunate expedition against, by the British vi, 159
- Lowe, Sir Hudson, governor of St. Helena, his disputes with Bonaparte vi, 253
- Luddites, their dangerous combinations v, 423
- Luneville, peace of iv, 455
- Luttrell, colonel, offers himself a candidate for Middlesex in opposition to Wilkes i, 429. is pronounced duly elected by the commons 430
- Lyons, insurrections at, in favor of the Girondists iv, 132. siege of that city by the republicans 138. is compelled to capitulate 139. horrible executions at 140. riots at vii, 298

M.

- Macarthy, Sir Charles, defeated and slain by the Ashantees vii, 28
- Macartney, lord, governor of Madras, forms a successful plan for the reduction of the Dutch settlements iii, 76
- Macdonald, general, sustains a signal defeat by Suwarroff iv, 415. his army almost annihilated by Blucher vi, 76. his honorable fidelity to Napoleon 127. is deserted by his army on the approach of Bonaparte 194. he accompanies Louis XVIII. to Ghent, *ib.* is raised by him to the command of the army 258
- Mack, general, appointed to the command of the Neapolitan forces iv, 381. his imbecility and cowardice 382. surrenders Ulm to Napoleon v, 123
- Mackinnon, general, his death and funeral honors at Ciudad Rodrigo vi, 29
- Mackintosh, Sir James, opposes the political axioms of Burke in his *Vindiciæ Gallicæ* iii, 442. his endeavors to effect a reformation in the criminal code vi, 367. 416. vii, 7
- Macrea, Miss, her melancholy fate ii, 352
- Madeira, island of, secured by the British v, 24
- Madras, state of, previous to the government of lord Pigot ii, 305. its distress from the ravages of Hyder Ali iii, 78
- Madrid, insurrections at i, 336. v, 216. taken possession of by lord Wellington vi, 51. re-occupied by Joseph Bonaparte 53

- Maha Bandoola**, his invasion of Arracan, and subsequent retreat vii, 51. assumes the command of the Burmese army 52. he attacks the British at Kemmendine 55. his death 60
- Maitland**, colonel, defeats the American general Lincoln ii, 415
- Malcolm**, Sir John, sent as envoy to the shah of Persia vi, 265. he returns to Calcutta, ib. his pursuit of Cheetoo 285. his active exertions and conciliatory conduct in central India 287. concludes a treaty with Bajee Row 292
- Malmesbury**, lord, his unsuccessful mission to reconcile differences with the French iv, 295. his return to England 296. again fails in his pacific negotiations with the French republic 325
- Malta**, its capture by the French iv, 361. its conquest by the British 459
- Man**, regalities in the isle of, purchased from the duke of Athol i, 281
- Manchester**, disturbances at vi, 337. 360. meeting at, to petition for parliamentary reform 387. its dispersion by the yeomanry, and tragical result, ib. opening of the railway between that town and Liverpool vii, 266
- Manheim** taken by the French republicans iv, 250. recaptured by the Austrians 251. taken again by the French 414
- Manilla** taken by the British i, 208
- Mansfield**, lord, confirms the judgment respecting the illegality of general warrants i, 252. his dignified and upright conduct 413. opposes lord Chatham ii, 3. his judgment on libels 23. destruction of his residence, &c. by the rioters iii, 25. his opinion on the legality of military interference 28. retires from the bench 379
- Mantua**, surrender of, to the French iv, 319
- Marat**, his violence and cruelty iv, 118. assassinated by Charlotte Corday 119
- Marengo**, battle of iv, 451
- Maria**, donna da Gloria, refuses to marry Don Miguel vii, 31. arrives in Europe 173. proclaimed in Lisbon 353
- Maria Louisa** becomes the wife of Napoleon v, 371. gives birth to a son 426
- Marie Antoinette**, her marriage with Louis XVI. ii, 35. her active interference in favor of America 346. endeavors to re-establish the authority of the king iii, 434. narrowly escapes assassination 436. her heroism iv, 29. her trial and execution 135
- Marmont**, marshal, supersedes Massena in his command in Spain v, 448. makes an unsuccessful attack on the British position at El Bodon 460. his communications with Soult intercepted vi, 43. his signal defeat at Salamanca 49
- Marr**, Mr., atrocious murder of himself and family v, 424
- Martinique**, conquest of i, 203. again surrendered to the British iv, 181
- Massachusetts**, hostilities between the legislative assembly of, and governor Bernard i, 317. by whom it is prorogued 396. renewed disputes 397. the assembly dissolved 398. determined opposition

- of the new assembly 436. their resistance to governor Hutchinson ii, 90. their publication of the correspondence of Hutchinson and Oliver, with their petition to the king 96. their petition dismissed 102. a bill enacted for the better regulation of their government 114. another for the impartial administration of justice 119. their spirited conduct 132. they resist the fortification of Boston-neck 136. resolve themselves into a provincial congress 138. remonstrate with general Gage, *ib.*
- Massena**, general, his successes in Genoa iv, 204. surprises and defeats the Austrians at Loano 245. checks Suwarroff in Switzerland, and compels him to retreat 416. is driven by the Austrians within the ramparts of Genoa 447. is compelled to surrender that city to the Austrians 448. sent to command the French army in Portugal v, 384. gains possession of Ciudad Rodrigo 390. captures Almeida 391. repelled in an attempt to force the British lines at Busacos 395. blockades the defences of Torres Vedras 402. compelled to retreat 405. quits Santarem 438. is opposed by Ney, whom he deprives of his command 441. is driven across the Portuguese frontier 443. defeated at Fuentes Onoro 447. resigns his command to Marmont 448
- Mathews**, general, captures the city of Bednore iii, 81. is compelled to surrender to Tippoo Saib, *ib.*
- Maurepas**, M., favorable to the cause of the Americans ii, 249
- Mayence**, surrender of, to the Prussians iv, 121
- Maynooth college**, establishment of iv, 237
- Meigs**, colonel, his exploits in Long-island rewarded by congress ii, 313
- Melas**, marshal, assumes the command of the Austrian forces in Italy iv, 446. sustains a signal defeat at Marengo 451
- Melbourne**, lord, succeeds earl Grey as premier vii, 369. his dismissal from office 400. his re-appointment 414
- Menai Strait suspension bridge**, commencement of vi, 402. its completion and opening vii, 115
- Menou**, general, commander of the French forces in Egypt at the death of Kleber iv, 460. surrenders Alexandria to the British v, 29
- Merino sheep**, their first introduction into England v, 346
- Middlesex election**, resolutions regarding, expunged from the journals of the house of commons iii, 139
- Mifflin**, fort, unsuccessful attack on by the British ii, 319
- Miguel**, Don, his attempt to dethrone his father vii, 31. visits England, *ib.* assumes the government of Portugal, and commits the most outrageous excesses 172. 210. attempts the life of his sister 211. his troops defeated at Terceira 212. his revolting cruelties 270. his fleet captured 353
- Military punishment**, severity of ii, 105
- Minorca** relieved by Rodney iii, 34. is compelled at length to surrender to the French 126. retaken by the British iv, 374
- Minto**, lord, succeeds Sir George Barlow in the government of

- India vi, 260. his successful expedition against Java 264. resigns his government 266
- Mir Cossim becomes nabob of Bengal on the deposition of his father in law i, 340. resists the illegal traffic of the company's servants 342. is deposed 347. takes refuge with Sujah Dowla 351
- Mir Jaffier, nabob of Bengal, abdicates the sovereignty i, 340. is reinstated 347. oppressive extortions on, by the company's servants 355. his death 356
- Mirabeau, his exertions to promote a moderate reform in the French government iii, 465. his death iv, 12
- Miranda surrendered to the Spaniards i, 200
- Missolonghi invested by the Turks vii, 95. its capture 114
- Monckton, colonel, remarkable attachment of his soldiers towards ii, 382
- Moncorvo surrendered to the Spaniards i, 200
- Monge, M., his bombastic tirade against the British government iv, 88
- Monghir, capture of, by the British i, 350
- Monte Video, unsuccessful attack on v, 168. its capture and relinquishment by the British 204
- Montgomery, general, his conquest of St. John's and Montreal ii, 187. joins with Arnold in an unsuccessful attack on Quebec 189. is killed, ib.
- Montgomery fort, captured by Sir Henry Clinton ii, 327
- Montreal, conquest of, by the Americans ii, 188. is abandoned by the enemy 220
- Moore, captain, his gallant exploit near Cadiz v, 95
- , Sir John, assumes the command of the British army in Portugal v, 266. advances into Spain 269. his great difficulties 270. determines to retreat into Portugal 271. wretched situation of the British army 276. he repels the attack of marshal Soult at Lugo 279. is killed at the moment of victory at Coruña 280
- Morea, Turkish fortresses in, reduced by the French vii, 180
- Moreau, general, penetrates into Bavaria iv, 277. retreats through the Black Forest, ib. defeated by the archduke Charles 278. recrosses the Rhine, ib. assumes the command of the army of Italy 410. prevents the Austrians from prosecuting effective operations in the Italian provinces 419. defeats the Austrians at Hohenlinden 454. engages in a plot to subvert the consular government v, 90. is allowed to retire to the United States, ib.
- Moreno, don Juan de, commands the allied fleet of France and Spain in the attack of Gibraltar iii, 161
- Mortier, general, takes possession of Hanover v, 78
- Moscow, pestilence at ii, 46. its destruction by the Russians to ensure the downfall of Napoleon vi, 24
- Moultrie, colonel, his gallant defence of Sullivan's island ii, 232
- Mugh, their persecution by the Burmese vii, 36. they find protection within the British frontier, ib. their unconditional sur-

- render demanded by the Burmese 38. their predatory and restless habits 41. their levy and artillery dispersed by the Burmese chief 51
- Muir, Mr., is transported to Botany-bay for fourteen years on a charge of sedition iv, 156
- Munro, major Hector, assumes the command of the British army in India i, 352. subdues the rebellious spirit of his army, ib. defeats the enemy at Buxar, 354. makes an unsuccessful attempt on Chandageer, ib. reduces Negapatam iii, 76
- Murat, his military executions at Madrid v, 216. created king of Naples 218. invades Sicily without success 375. is left in the supreme command of the French forces vi, 24. flies to Naples, ib. joins the allies 117. attacks the Austrians, and is routed 196. is taken prisoner, tried, and executed 251. his character, ib.
- Murray, general, his spirited conduct during the riots of 1780 iii, 24
- , Sir John, invests Tarragona vi, 82. his retreat from that fortress, ib.
- Murviedro taken by Suchet v, 464

N.

- Nagle, captain, his gallant engagement with the French iv, 183
- Najim u Dowla appointed nabob of Bengal on the death of Mir Jaffier i, 356. presents extorted by the company's servants on this occasion, ib. his death 371
- Napier, admiral, captures the fleet of Don Miguel vii, 353
- Naples, its occupation by the forces of the French republic iv, 382. transferred by Napoleon to his brother Joseph v, 141. assigned to Murat by Bonaparte 218. invaded by the British without success 338. its struggles for liberty suppressed by the holy alliance vi, 451
- Napper Tandy, indicted on a charge of high treason iv, 359. suffered to quit the kingdom, ib.
- Navarino, its siege and capture by Ibrahim Pacha vii, 95. battle of 155
- Neckar, M., endeavors to restore the exhausted finances of France iii, 125. is compelled to retire from office, ib. recalled 424. flies from France 465
- Negapatam captured iii, 76
- Nelson, lord, loses an eye at the siege of Calvi iv, 184. magnanimity of his conduct, ib. is the chief cause of the success of admiral Hotham in the Mediterranean 242. superintends the evacuation of Porto Ferrajo, and the island of Capraia 287. invested with the order of the Bath for his gallant conduct at Cape St. Vincent 314. loses an arm at the unsuccessful siege of Teneriffe 316. is appointed to pursue the French fleet 362. arrives at Alexandria 363. battle of the Nile 366. honors paid him on that occasion 370. defends Sicily from the inroads of the French republic 382. annuls the treaty made with the Neapo-

- litan revolutionists, and sanctions the execution of prince Caraccioli 418. fights the battle of Copenhagen, and obtains a splendid victory in violation of the orders of Sir Hyde Parker v, 18. arranges an armistice with the crown prince of Denmark 23. is raised to the rank of viscount, *ib.* attacks the French flotilla at Boulogne 31. pursues the French fleet without success 117. appointed to the command of the fleet 122. his arrival at Cadiz 125. his manœuvres and instructions to his officers, *ib.* his preparations for battle 126. engages the enemy at Trafalgar 127. his death at the moment of victory 132. honors paid to his memory 134
- Netherlands, their resistance to the oppressions of the emperor Joseph iii, 417. inhumanity of the French towards *ib.*, 200
- Newcastle, (Pelham) duke of, his character *i*, 112. resigns office 190. his disinterested conduct, *ib.* forms a political connexion with the duke of Cumberland 191. is appointed to the office of privy seal 287. his death 415
-
- _____, duke of, his opinion of Mr. Canning *vii*, 138. ejection of his tenantry at Newark 233. his castle at Nottingham burnt by the mob 293
- New England states, their strong remonstrances against colonial taxation *i*, 261. they take the lead in their opposition to the mother country *ii*, 90. bill for the restriction of their commerce 154
- New Jersey, operations of the British at *ii*, 386
- New London Bridge, its commencement *vii*, 91. is opened by William IV. 284
- New Orleans, its unsuccessful siege by the British *vi*, 171
- New Post Office, opening of *vii*, 222. its improved system, *ib.*
- New South Wales, its rapid and extensive progress in cultivation *vii*, 30
- New York, congress at *i*, 292. alarming riots at 321. the legislative power of their assembly suspended 378. its assembly again permitted to meet 400. expedition against by the British *ii*, 235. arrival of Washington, *ib.* captured by the British 256. operations of the British army at 386
- New Zealanders, their increasing civilisation *vii*, 30
- Ney, marshal, appointed by Napoleon to the command of the French expedition against England *v*, 117. refuses to concur with Soult in the invasion of Portugal 327. invests Ciudad Rodrigo 388. superseded by Massena 390. commands the rear guard in its retreat from Portugal 436. deprived of his command by Massena 441. his gallant conduct at Borodino *vi*, 23. is totally routed at Dennewitz by the crown prince of Sweden 76. sends in his adhesion to the provisional government after the capture of Paris 127. obtains the command of the army from Louis XVIII. 192. joins Napoleon 193. is repulsed by the British at Quatre Bras 213. his courage signalised at Waterloo 238. his arrest and execution 248
- Niagara successfully defended against the American Indians *i*, 267
- Nicholas, emperor of Russia, his accession to the throne *vii*, 93.

- assists the Greeks 153. proclaims war against Turkey 170. grants peace to that power 207. his subjugation of Poland 269. 299
- Nicholson, Margaret, her attempt on the life of George III. iii, 303
- Nimeguen, surrender of, to the French iv, 211
- Nootka Sound seized by the Spaniards from the English iii, 454. restored 457
- Nore, dangerous mutiny of seamen at iv, 306. suppressed, and the ringleaders punished 309
- North, lord, becomes chancellor of the exchequer i, 379. is made premier ii, 9. promotes the repeal of the American revenue act 17. elected chancellor of the university of Oxford 87. determines on the adoption of coercive measures in America 109. introduces a pacific motion 155. his conciliatory bills 354. his propositions for the relief of Ireland iii, 6. his disagreement with Sir Fletcher Norton 15. his facetious sarcasm on the incompetency of the commanders in America. 108. resigns office 131. forms a coalition with Mr. Fox 171. his defence of his conduct 176
- North Briton, a periodical, its seditious and immoral tendency i, 239. contains an atrocious libel on George III. 241. which is burnt publicly by order of the commons 251
- Northern confederacy, origin of v, 2
- North-west passage, voyage of captain Parry in search of vi, 448.
- Norton, Sir Fletcher, elected speaker of the house of commons ii, 10. his spirited address to George III. 280. receives a vote of approbation from the house 281. his disagreement with lord North iii, 15. joins the opposition, ib. loses his re-election to the chair 56. raised to the peerage 133
- Norway, its cession to Sweden by the congress of Vienna vi, 186
- Nottingham, riots at vii, 293
- Novi, battle of iv, 416
- Nowell, Dr., his sermon before the house of commons canvassed ii, 61
- Nullum tempus* bill i, 389. ecclesiastical *nullum tempus* bill ii, 58

O.

- Ochterlony, general, restores the lustre of the British arms in the Nepaulese war vi, 270
- O'Connell, Mr., his extensive influence over the catholic population of Ireland vii, 24. is elected member for the county of Clare 174. re-elected after the passing of the catholic relief bill 205. is apprehended, and pleads guilty 296. his violent philippics against earl Grey's administration 338. his unsuccessful endeavors to repeal the union 357. procures the resignation of earl Grey 369
- Olivenza taken by marshal Soult v, 429
- Oliver, alderman, committed to the Tower by the house of commons ii, 44. his release 45

- Oliver, lieutenant-governor of Massachusetts, his correspondence with the British ministry published ii, 97. laid before the privy council 98. their report 102
- Omoa captured by the British ii, 423
- Oneidas, mission of, to the provincial assembly ii, 225
- Oporto, its assault and capture by marshal Soult v, 302. is recovered by the English 307. captured by Don Pedro vii, 332. its siege raised 353
- Orange lodges, their zeal and violence for the promotion of protestant ascendancy vii, 175
- Orders of council issued by the British government against the Berlin and Milan decrees v, 198. additional restrictions 208
- Orthes, battle of vi, 123
- Ostend, unsuccessful attempt against by the British iv, 373
- Oswego, fort of, its reduction by the British vi, 155
- Otho, prince of Bavaria, created king of Greece vii, 352
- Otto, M., his negotiations with the British government on the subject of peace iv, 461
- Oudinot, marshal, his total defeat at Gross-Beeren vi, 76
- Oxford university, instance of its munificence iv, 58. its magnificent reception of the allied sovereigns vi, 145. rejects Mr. Peel as their representative on account of his conversion to the cause of catholic emancipation vii, 186
- , corruption of the mayor and corporation of i, 391. who are reprimanded by the speaker 392

P.

- Paget, Sir Edward, suppresses the mutiny of his troops in the Burmese war vii, 52
- Pakenham, Sir Edward, his signal courage at the battle of Salamanca vi, 46. arrives at New Orleans 166. his gallant death at the siege of that place 173
- Palliser, Sir Hugh, his disputes with admiral Keppel ii, 392. his defence in the house of commons 394. is acquitted by a court-martial 396
- Palmer, Rev. Mr., transported to Botany-bay for fourteen years on a charge of sedition iv, 157
- Pampeluna surrendered to the Spaniards vi, 105
- Paoli, general, his brave defence of Corsica i, 273. he remonstrates with the French monarch, ib. makes an unsuccessful attempt to procure the mediation of England and Austria 274.
- Parga, fortress of, its delivery into the hands of the Turks vi, 397. embarkation of its inhabitants 398
- Paris, its capture by the allies vi, 126. occupied by Wellington and Blucher 244. is stripped of its trophies of victory 245
- Parker, Sir Peter, assists general Clinton in the attack on Sullivan's island ii, 233
- , Sir Hyde, admiral, engages the Dutch fleet off the Doggerbank iii, 89. resigns his command in disgust 90. his orders disobeyed by Nelson at the battle of Copenhagen v, 20

- Parker, Richard, chosen president of the committee of delegates by the mutinous seamen at the Nore iv, 307. tried by a court-martial, and executed 309
- Parry, captain, his voyage in search of a north-west passage vi, 448
- Patans and Pindarries, their extensive system of plunder vi, 262. their dispersion by the marquis of Hastings 287
- Patna, conquest of, by Mr. Ellis i, 347. is recaptured by the Indian governor, ib. retaken by major Adams 351
- Paul, the Russian emperor, concludes a treaty with Great Britain iv, 377. eulogy on his character by Mr. Pitt 378. withdraws from the confederacy 418. his inveterate hostility to Great Britain v, 3. is assassinated by his nobles, and succeeded by his son Alexander 23
- Jones, commander of an American privateer, his ravages at Whitehaven and Kirkcudbright ii, 397. his engagement with captain Pierson 424. presented with the order of merit by Louis XVI., and protected by the Dutch 425
- Paulus Hook, British garrison surprised at ii, 420
- Payne, Thomas, contributes materially to the establishment of American independence by the publication of his *Common Sense* ii, 237. publishes his *Rights of Man* iii, 467
- Pedro, Don, obtains the sovereignty of Brazil vii, 94. his tyrannical and imprudent conduct, ib. nominates Don Miguel regent of Portugal 171. despatches his daughter to Europe 173. refuses to compromise her claims 214. prepares for a descent on Portugal 298. takes possession of Oporto 332. his decided successes 353
- Peel, Sir Robert, his first speech in parliament v, 350. his bill for the resumption of cash payments vi, 369. he is appointed home secretary 482. his opposition to the claims of the catholics 484. and to the depreciation of the currency 487. his exertions for the reform of the criminal code vii, 7. 100. declines office under Mr. Canning's government 127. his opposition to that minister 142. his improvements of the criminal code 146. joins the Wellington administration 151. advocates the repeal of the test and corporation acts 167. becomes the advocate of catholic claims, and resigns the representation of Oxford 185. carries the bill in favor of catholic emancipation through the house of commons 196. establishes a metropolitan police 222. defends the duke of Newcastle 235. advocates the diminution of capital punishments 238. opposes the reform bill 282. succeeds lord Melbourne as premier 401. resigns office 414
- Peine forte et dure* abolished ii, 64
- Peltier, M., convicted of a libel on Bonaparte v, 58
- Penobscot, American disaster at ii, 421
- Penryn, borough of, convicted of corruption vii, 144
- Perceval, Mr., the legal adviser of the princess of Wales v, 149. chancellor of the exchequer 185. created first lord of the treasury 343. assassinated in the house of commons vi, 7. posthumous honors to his memory, and pensions to his family 9

- Perry, commodore, his defeat and capture of the British squadron under captain Barclay vi, 111
- Perthshire, riots in iv, 329
- Peter III. of Russia, concludes a peace and treaty of alliance with Frederic III. of Prussia i, 193. his death 195
- Petty, lord Henry, (marquis of Lansdowne) becomes chancellor of the exchequer v, 146. joins the ministry of Mr. Canning vii, 141. accepts office in the Grey administration 263
- Philadelphia, general congress assembled at ii, 130. its acts enumerated, ib. it is broken up, after appointing another meeting the following year 141. it again assembles 175. occupied by the British 317. licentious conduct of the soldiery there 376. evacuated by the British 381
- Phillipon, his gallant defence of Badajos vi, 35
- Pichegru, general, promoted to the chief command of the republican forces iv, 126. sustains a defeat near Tournay 194. his rapid conquests 210. takes possession of Mannheim 250. engages in a plot to subvert the consular government v, 90. strangles himself in prison, ib.
- Picton, Sir Thomas, his gallantry at the attack on El Bodon v, 461. storms the breaches at Ciudad Rodrigo vi, 29. is mainly instrumental to the capture of Badajos 39. remarkable display of his chivalrous courage at the battle of Vittoria 88. decides the victory at Orthes 123. his zealous co-operation at the battle of Toulouse 130. receives the thanks of the house of commons for the seventh time 144. is severely wounded at Quatre Bras 213. his gallant death at Waterloo 224
- Pierson, captain, his engagement with Paul Jones ii, 424
- , major, his gallant defence of St. Helier iii, 85. his death, ib.
- Pigot, lord, appointed governor of Madras ii, 307. is opposed by a majority in the council, ib. is put under arrest 308. he and the council ordered home 309. his death 310. judgment of the court of king's bench, ib.
- Pitt, fort, is bravely defended from the American Indians by colonel Bouquet i, 266
- , Mr. William, son of the earl of Chatham, his first speech in parliament iii, 61. his motion in favor of parliamentary reform 141. becomes chancellor of the exchequer, and leader of the house of commons 151. declines his majesty's solicitations for his continuance in office 180. his prudent and honorable conduct 182. becomes prime minister at the dissolution of the coalition ministry 208. his great difficulties 210. his disinterestedness 214. his India bill rejected by the commons 222. is presented with the freedom of the city of London 230. his triumph over his opponents 243. procures the dissolution of parliament 245. returns highly favorable to him, ib. his India bill passed into a law 258. is defeated in a new measure of parliamentary reform 265. his plan for adjusting the commercial intercourse between England and Ireland rejected by the Irish legislature 275. his establishment of an efficient sinking-fund

- passed into a law 292. carries his grand scheme of financial reform 321. interferes in favor of the stadtholder 347. his plan for liquidating the claims of the American loyalists 371. his great popularity at the commencement of the French revolution 439. curious avowal of his change of opinion iv, 46. created warden of the cinque ports 56. his examination at the Old Bailey on the trial of Horne Tooke 180. his bill to prevent seditious meetings 261. his great popularity 269. fights a duel with Mr. Tierney 341. resigns office v, 8. is again placed at the head of administration 86. attempts to form a new coalition 99. his reconciliation with Mr. Addington 100. his opinion on the subject of catholic disabilities 102. delivers his last speech in parliament 112. succeeds in forming a new coalition 113. decline of his health 114. his death 142. honors paid to his memory 143. review of his policy and character, ib.
- Pius VI. pope, carried into exile by the French iv, 380
- VII. excommunicates Napoleon, and is imprisoned by him at Fontainebleau v, 334. his restoration to liberty vi, 135
- Plunkett, Mr., (lord Plunkett) his powerful advocacy of the catholic claims vii, 120. created lord chancellor of Ireland 263
- Plymley, Peter, his severe strictures on Mr. Canning v, 224
- Plymouth, construction of a breakwater at vi, 59
- Pocock, admiral, in conjunction with lord Albemarle, captures the Havannah i, 207
- Poland, dissensions in i, 336. her first partition ii, 67. her second partition iv, 217. ceases to be a kingdom, ib. expulsion of the grand duke Constantine from its territories vii, 268. its complete subjugation by the emperor Nicholas 269. 299
- Police, metropolitan, establishment of vii, 222
- Polignac, M., becomes prime minister of France vii, 209. his unpopularity 210. his downfall and imprisonment 251
- Political unions, their dangerous power vii, 293. 315
- Pombal, marquis, his extensive reforms in Portugal i, 229
- Pompadour, madame, death of i, 274. cause of the suppression of the jesuits 386
- Pondicherry, siege and capture of i, 139. the town and fortifications levelled with the ground, ib.
- Poniatowski, count, elected king of Poland i, 272
- Ponsonby, Sir William, his gallant charge, and glorious death at Waterloo vi, 226
- Poor laws, bill for their amendment, its introduction vii, 386. passed into a law 390
- Popham, Sir Home, obtains possession of the Cape of Good Hope v, 167. captures Buenos Ayres, ib. makes an unsuccessful attack on Monte Video 168. is recalled, and censured by a court martial, ib.
- Portland, duke of, at the head of the coalition ministry iii, 181
- Portsmouth, conflagration of the royal dock-yard at ii, 272
- Portugal, its spirited resistance to the united French and Spanish forces i, 199. v, 24. at length compelled to yield v, 24. is

- overrun by the French troops 207. is relinquished by the royal family, who take refuge in the Brazils, *ib.* the inhabitants rise against the French 220. organised by marshal Beresford to a successful resistance of their persecutors 301. sinks into the rank of a tributary state to the Brazils *vi*, 349. suppression of its struggles for liberty 451. meeting of its Cortes 478. arrival of the king from Brazil, and his acceptance of the constitution, *ib.* his restoration to arbitrary power *vii*, 4. unsuccessful attempts of Don Miguel to usurp the crown 31. obtains a constitutional government 107. obtains speedy and efficient support from Great Britain, against the menaces of France and Spain 113. is rent asunder by the factions of Don Pedro and Miguel 172. Donna Maria proclaimed queen of 353
- Pownall, governor, his prudent advice to government in the American contest *i*, 431. proposes the repeal of all duties *ii*, 17. his humane proposal 352
- Prescot, general, surprised by the Americans, and exchanged for general Lee *ii*, 315
- Prevost, general, his conquests in East Florida *ii*, 390. fails in his endeavors to surprise Charleston 414. his gallant defence of Savannah 415
- , Sir George, his unsuccessful attempt to reduce Sacket's harbor *vi*, 110. is accused of neglect of duty and misconduct 156
- Price, Dr., his work on Civil Liberty *ii*, 219
- Priestley, Dr., his answer to Mr. Burke *iv*, 16. destruction of his house and property at Birmingham by the rabble 19
- Procter, colonel, his contests with the Americans on the Detroit frontier *vi*, 108. is compelled to retreat 113
- Prome, its occupation by the British *vii*, 60. defeat of the Burmese at 64
- Prussia, review of her condition at the close of the septennial war *i*, 227. her military conquests for the restoration of the stadtholder *iii*, 348. forms a treaty of alliance with Great Britain and Holland 378. commences war with the French republic *iv*, 27. withdraws from the coalition 190. joins the Russians in the investment of Warsaw 217. makes peace with the French republic 224. its selfish policy *v*, 113. accepts the electorate of Hanover from Napoleon 139. proclaims war against France 171. makes peace with France, with the loss of half her monarchy 196. forms alliances with England and Russia against France *vi*, 73. her aggrandisement by the congress of Vienna 181. her severe restrictions on the liberty of the press 348
- Putnam, general, his patriotic courage *ii*, 174. his humanity at the battle of Bunker's-hill 180. is deceived by the movements of Clinton 327

Q.

Quadripartite treaty, nature of *vii*, 399

Quatre Bras, battle of vi, 210

Quesnoy, capture of, by the Austrians iv, 122. retaken by the French 208

R.

Raikes, Mr., the originator of Sunday schools, is patronised by queen Charlotte iii, 53

Rangoon, its capture by the British vii, 44

Rawdon, lord, (marquis of Hastings) his gallantry at the battle of Camden iii, 42. attacks the Americans at Hobkirk's-hill 99. quits the army 101. his unsuccessful communications with lords Grey and Grenville vi, 10. succeeds lord Minto as governor-general of India 267. declares war against the Nepaulese 268. his military operations 269. his dispersion of the Patans and Pindarries 287. reduces the peishwah to submission 292. establishes the supremacy of Great Britain, ib. his beneficent domestic administration 293. returns to England 295

Reform bill, its introduction into the house of commons vii, 274. its rejection by the lords 291. disappointment of the country at that event, ib. is again introduced 299. passed into a law 327

Regnier, general, is defeated by the British at Maida v, 170

Revenue-officers excluded from voting in parliamentary elections iii, 139

Rhode island, unsuccessful attack on, by the Americans and French ii, 385. evacuated by the British 421

Riard, his execution at Lyons iv, 132

Richardson, Mr. Samuel, his death i, 183

Robespierre, his violence and cruelty towards the Girondists iv, 118. his miserable death 202

Robinson, Mr., (earl of Ripon) his introduction of a prohibitory duty on foreign grain vi, 197. his unpopularity 198. becomes chancellor of the exchequer 507. raised to the peerage vii, 128. becomes premier on the death of Mr. Canning 149. resigns office 151. joins the administration of earl Grey 263. resigns office 360

Rochambeau, count de, arrives in America with a reinforcement from the French court iii, 44

Rockingham, marquis of, becomes prime minister i, 287. his ministry dissolved 325. is again placed at the head of the treasury iii, 132. his death 149

Rodney, admiral, makes a conquest of the French Caribbee isles i, 203. his character and services ii, 373. his answer to the proposals of Louis XVI. 375. is appointed to the command of the fleet in the West Indies 425. his success against the Spaniards, and capture of admiral Langara iii, 32. his humane suggestions regarding prisoners 34. relieves Minorca and Gibraltar, ib. arrives in the West Indies, ib. his actions with the French fleet 35. proceeds to the coast of North America 37. compels the island of St. Eustatius to surrender, where he

- obtains a vast booty 91. his conduct here censured by Burke 119. his defence, *ib.* his glorious victory over the French fleet 146. receives the thanks of parliament, with a peerage and pension 147. melancholy fate of his prizes 160
- Robillas, their sale to the vizir of Oude by Warren Hastings *ii*, 293. their gallant, though unavailing resistance 294
- Roland. *M.*, minister of the interior to Louis XVI. *iv*, 15
- Rollo, lord, captures Dominica *i*, 138
- Romana, marquis de la, transported to Spain from Denmark *v*, 257. his death 429
- Rome occupied by French troops *iv*, 380. is seized by the British under captain Louis 421
- Romilly, Sir Samuel, his humane endeavors for the mitigation of the criminal code *v*, 231. 420. *vi*, 357. is elected member for Westminster *vi*, 360. puts a period to his existence, *ib.*
- Ross, general, his capture of the city of Washington *vi*, 157. is mortally wounded in an unsuccessful attack on Baltimore 159
- Rouen, parliament of, their spirited remonstrance *i*, 336
- Roussillon, its invasion by the Spaniards repelled by the republican forces *iv*, 129
- Roy, *M.*, nature of his ministry *vii*, 180
- Royal Academy, establishment of *i*, 414
- George, loss of *iii*, 161
- Rullecourt, baron de, takes possession of St. Helier *iii*, 84. is killed in an engagement with the British 85
- Rumbold, Sir Thomas, a bill of pains and penalties carried against him *iii*, 143
- , Sir George, is seized at Hamburg by order of Bonaparte, and imprisoned in the Temple *v*, 97. is liberated from confinement, *ib.*
- Russell, lord John, his zeal in the cause of parliamentary reform *vi*, 396. his bill for the disfranchisement of Grampound 397. 415. 463. his unsuccessful endeavors to extend the elective franchise 464. 497. assists in the repeal of the test and corporation acts *vii*, 166. joins the administration of earl Grey 263. introduces the reform bill to the house of commons 274. becomes leader of the opposition against the administration of Sir Robert Peel 405. appointed home secretary 414
- Russia, commercial treaty with *i*, 315. her disputes with Sweden accommodated *iii*, 416. differences with Great Britain *iv*, 3. signs a treaty with that power to oppose the ambition of the French republic 113. concludes a provisional treaty with Great Britain 377. forms a northern confederacy against the claims of Great Britain *v*, 2. concludes a treaty of peace with that power 23. joins Great Britain and Austria in a coalition against France 113. involved in a war with Turkey 175. peace concluded with France and Turkey by the treaty of Tilsit 197. its invasion by Bonaparte, who loses his army in his retreat *vi*, 22. extent of her empire at the conclusion of the war 186. extent of her territories in the north-west coast of America 478. her disputes with Turkey arranged at the con-

- gress of Verona 504. she unites with Great Britain and France in favor of the Greeks vii, 153. commences war with Turkey 170. makes peace with that power 207
 Rutland, duke of, his death in Ireland during his viceregency iii, 358. regret of the Irish at his loss, ib.

S.

- Sadler, Mr., his powerful speech against concession to the catholics vii, 193
 Safety-lamp, its discovery by Sir Humphrey Davy vi, 326
 Salamanca, battle of vi, 46
 Saldanha, count, prevented from landing at Terceira by the British government vii, 213
 Salem, removal of the legislature to, by general Gage ii, 132. spirited conduct of the inhabitants 134
 Salique law of succession, its abolition in Spain vii, 270
 Sandwich, lord, appointed first lord of the admiralty i, 238. motion for his censure ii, 399. for his dismissal 400. his defence in the house of peers 401
 Sandwich-isles, view of society at vii, 30
 Saragossa, siege of v, 295. is captured by marshal Lasnes 297
 Sardinia kept in check by the republican forces iv, 131. obtains a cession of Genoa at the congress of Vienna vi, 184
 Saumarez, Sir James, his gallant action with the French and Spaniards vi, 31
 Savannah taken by the British ii, 390. gallantly defended by general Prevost 415
 Savile, Sir George, his bill for the relief of Roman catholics passed ii, 365
 Saxe Coburg, prince of, assists the duke of York in the capture of Valenciennes iv, 120. succeeds in taking Landrecy 191. orders the allies to retreat at the battle of Fleurus 198
 ———, prince Leopold of, his marriage with the princess Charlotte vi, 313. refuses the government of Greece vii, 271. becomes king of Belgium 272
 Sayre, Mr., committed to the Tower on a charge of treason ii, 195. recovers £1000 damages for illegal imprisonment, ib.
 Scherer, general, appointed by the Directory to the command of the army of Italy iv, 414. is defeated, and resigns his command, ib.
 Schwartzenburg, prince, assumes the command of the allied armies vi, 76. makes an unsuccessful attack on Dresden, ib. his victory at Leipsic 77. crosses the Rhine 117. repulsed by Napoleon 119. storms the heights of Montmartre 126. enters Paris, ib.
 Scio, its capture and oppression by the Turks vi, 498
 Scotland, riots in, from apprehension of relief to papists ii, 404. bill passed for the restoration of forfeited estates in iii, 259. restoration of forfeited peerages in vii, 104

- Scott, major, his defence of the government of Warren Hastings iii, 298. 412
- Scottish episcopalians transfer their allegiance to the house of Hanover iii, 307. their emancipation from certain legal restraints iv, 44
- Seabury, Dr., bishop of Connecticut, consecrated at Aberdeen iii, 306
- Sebastiani, general, confirms the resolution of the grand signor in his opposition to Great Britain v, 202
- Secker, archbishop of Canterbury, his death and character i, 415
- Selkirk, lord, his mansion at Kirkcudbright pillaged by Paul Jones ii, 397
- Senegal captured by the French ii, 416
- Seville taken by marshal Victor v, 377
- Shah Allum, the emperor, concludes an alliance with Sujah Dowla for the restoration of Mir Cossim i, 351. hard terms imposed on him by the British 366
- Shah Zaddah invades Bengal, but is routed and taken prisoner by major Carnac i, 140
- Shaw, a life-guard man, his remarkable prowess and intrepidity at the battle of Waterloo vi, 226. his death, ib.
- Shelburne, earl of, secretary of state i, 325. his duel with Mr. Fullarton iii, 15. is placed at the head of the cabinet 150. compelled to relinquish office 178. created marquis of Lansdowne 260
- Sheridan, Mr., his first speech in parliament iii, 63. specimens of his eloquence in the charges of Warren Hastings at Westminster-hall 363. his animated denuntiations of war with France iv, 83. his pungent satire on Mr. Pitt 154. supports the Addington administration v, 52. brilliant specimen of his patriotic eloquence 55. his firmness at the conflagration of Drury-lane theatre 344. his intrigues to exclude the whigs from office vi, 11
- , Dr., his trial and acquittal v, 422
- Sherlock, bishop of London, addresses an affectionate letter to George III. i, 124. his death 183
- Shiel, Mr., his zeal in forwarding the views of the catholics vii, 175
- Shoreham, borough of, disfranchised for corruption ii, 41
- Sicily, defended from the incursions of the French by the energy of Nelson iv, 382. invaded by Murat without success v, 375
- Silk-weavers, tumultuous assemblies of i, 284. are patronised by their majesties 285
- Slavery, remarkable discussion on, at Liverpool vii, 335. abolished in the British colonies 346
- Slave-trade, measures for its abolition commenced by quakers iii, 190. is passed by the commons, but rejected in the upper house v, 88. passed into a law during the whig administration 185
- Sligo, marquis of, his trial and conviction for seducing seamen vi, 60

- Smirke, Mr., his restoration of York Minster vii, 222
- Smith, Sir Sidney, his gallantry at the siege of Toulon iv, 116. instance of his generosity 183. captured by the French 289. his escape from confinement 361. compels Bonaparte to raise the siege of Acre 427. assists in forcing the Dardanelles v, 202
- , Mr., condemned to death for exciting the negroes to revolt vii, 27. his death in prison, *ib.*
- Society Islands, their cultivation and improvement vii, 30
- Soubise, prince de, supersedes marshal Broglio i, 197
- Souham, general, defeats the English and Austrians at Turcoing iv, 193
- Soult, marshal, his intrepidity during the retreat of the French to Genoa iv, 447. horrible slaughter perpetrated by his orders at the battle of Austerlitz v, 138. is repelled by the British at the battle of Coruña 280. advances into Portugal, and captures Oporto 302. is compelled to retreat 307. defeats the Spaniards in the battle of Ocana 333. captures Olivenza 429. is repulsed by the British at Albuera 450. relieves Badajos 456. his communications with Marmont intercepted vi, 43. again assumes the chief command 93. endeavors to relieve St. Sebastian and Pampeluna, *ib.* compels Sir Thomas Picton to retire 94. is dislodged from his position on the Pyrenees by lord Wellington 96. recrosses the Bidassoa, *ib.* retreats to Bayonne 107. occupies a strong position in front of that city 108. sustains a defeat at Orthes 123. and another at Toulouse 129. sends in his adhesion to the provisional government 132. becomes minister of war to Louis XVIII. 193. joins the standard of Napoleon, *ib.* whom he preserves at the battle of Waterloo 240. collects the scattered wreck of the army 241. is banished beyond the Rhine 251.
- South American states, their spirited resistance to the mother country vi, 400. consuls received from the British government vii, 16. their independence recognised by Great Britain 19
- Southwark bridge, opening of vi, 401
- Spa-fields, seditious meetings at vi, 316. 331
- Spain, war proclaimed against i, 185. in conjunction with her French allies, she determines to invade Portugal 186. seizes Falkland islands ii, 29. secretly encourages the Americans 254. determines on hostilities with Great Britain 407. issues a declaration of war 408. joins her fleet with France, *ib.* attacks West Florida, and the British settlements on the Mississippi 423. failure of her attack on Gibraltar iii, 164. signs a treaty of peace with Great Britain 192. also a convention 305. dispute with Great Britain relative to Nootka Sound 453. which is adjusted 456. her unsuccessful invasion of Roussillon iv, 129. capture of her fortresses 206. renewal of war with Great Britain v, 96. her resistance to French usurpation 218. dissensions of her provincial juntas 253. ill success of her military operations 295. tyrannical treatment of her transatlantic colonies 380. her establishment of a new regency vi, 26. her de-

- graded and oppressed state under Ferdinand 134. loss of her transatlantic dominions 400. recall of her Cortes by Ferdinand 449. abolition of the Salique law in vii, 270
- Spithead, mutiny of seamen at iv, 305. suppressed 306
- St. Croix, his gallant defence of Belleisle i, 138
- St. Eustatius captured by Rodney iii, 90. surrendered to the French 92
- St. John, Newfoundland, captured by the French i, 204. is recovered by the British, *ib.* its conquest by the Americans ii, 187
- St. Lucie, capture of by the British i, 203. ii, 389
- St. Sebastian, its siege and capture by Sir Thomas Graham vi, 97
- St. Vincent, capture of, by the British i, 204
- Staffordshire, riots at vi, 315
- Stamps, duty on, in the American colonies passed i, 280. is repealed 314
- Stanwix, fort, ill success of the British at ii, 324
- States-general in France, meeting of iii, 425
- Staunton, captain, totally defeats Bajee Row vi, 290
- Steel engraving, its introduction vi, 402
- Stevens, admiral, assists colonel Coote in the siege of Pondicherry i, 139
- Stony-Point, captured by Sir Henry Clinton ii, 417. retaken by general Wayne 419. re-occupied by the British 420
- Strahan, Sir Richard, captures four French ships escaped from Trafalgar v, 185
- Struensee, count, his seizure and execution ii, 65
- Stuart, Sir John, his defeat of the French at Maida v, 170
- Suchet, marshal, his ill success in Valencia v, 387. makes himself master of Tortosa 429. storms Tarragona 457. captures Murviedro 464. invests the city of Valencia, *ib.* abandons Tarragona, and retires to the Pyrenees vi, 82
- Sujah Dowla, nabob of Oude, affords protection to Mir Cossim i, 351. is totally defeated at the battle of Buxar 354. concludes a treaty of peace with lord Clive 364. throws himself on the generosity of the English 366. purchases the concurrence of Warren Hastings in his conquest of the Rohillas ii, 293. his pusillanimity 294. his death 296
- Sullivan, general, his retaliation on the Indians ii, 422
- Sullivan's island, unsuccessful assault of, by the British ii, 231
- Surinam, its capture by the British iv, 426
- Surrey, earl of, (afterwards duke of Norfolk) renounces the catholic faith iii, 53
- Suspension-bridge, its erection over the Menai Strait vi, 402
- Sutherland, colonel, his defeat of the Ashantees vii, 29
- Suwarroff, general, his diabolical cruelty at Warsaw iv, 217. defeats the army of Macdonald 415. gains the battle of Novi 416. is defeated by Massena in Switzerland, and compelled to retreat, *ib.* resigns his command 418
- Sweden accedes to a treaty of peace with Frederic III. of

Prussia i, 193. insurrection of peasants at 337. revolution effected by Gustavus III. ii, 66. her disputes with Russia and Turkey iii, 415. accommodated 416. her resistance to the claim of a right to search by Great Britain v, 3. compelled to relinquish the northern confederacy 23. joins Great Britain, Austria, and Russia against France 113. elects marshal Bernadotte as the successor to the throne 372. joins the alliance against France vi, 21. obtains possession of Norway at the congress of Vienna 186

Switzerland, its invasion and subjugation by the French republic iv, 360

T.

Talavera, battle of v, 322

Talleyrand, his communications with Fox relative to a general peace v, 150. broken off by the death of the latter 154. instrumental to the restoration of the Bourbons vi, 127. created minister for foreign affairs 248

Tallien, horrible cruelty of iv, 247

Tarleton, colonel, defeated by the Americans at the Cowpens iii, 96

Tarragona stormed by the French v, 457

Temple, lord, his character i, 114. resigns the privy seal on the retirement of Mr. Pitt 158. loses his seat in the privy council, &c. by his partiality to Wilkes 244. refuses to join the ministry 285. his quarrel with the earl of Chatham 323. their reconciliation ii, 2

Terceira, unsuccessful invasion of, by Don Miguel vii, 212. its occupation by count Saldanha prevented by the British government 213

Test and corporation act, repeal of vii, 166

Texel, defeat of the Dutch fleet at iv, 318

Thames tunnel, commencement of vii, 91

Thelwall, Mr. John, apprehended on a charge of high treason iv, 162. tried and acquitted 180

Thermidorians, triumph of iv, 253

Thistlewood committed to the Tower on a charge of high treason vi, 333. the charge abandoned 339. takes the lead in a conspiracy to assassinate the cabinet ministers 408. his detection and apprehension 411. his trial and execution, ib.

Thompson, Mr., disputes the authority of the house of commons ii, 42

——, general, his unsuccessful attack on the British forces ii, 228

Thurlow, Mr., lord chancellor ii, 427. his advice to George III. iii, 180. the great seal stolen from his house 260

Ticonderoga fort, surprised by colonel Allen ii, 186. recovered by the British 323

Tierney, Mr., his duel with Mr. Pitt iv, 341. joins Mr. Canning's ministry vii, 141

- Tilsit, treaty of v, 195
- Tippoo Saib, son of Hyder Ali, defeated by the British iii, 71. becomes sovereign of Mysore at the death of his father 79. deserted by his French allies at the conclusion of the American war 80. loses the city of Bednore, which he recaptures 81. concludes a treaty of peace with the British 83. his arbitrary and cruel conduct, *ib.* his aggressions on the company's territories and allies iv, 60. besieged by lord Cornwallis in Seringapatam 69. compelled to make a disadvantageous peace 72. renews his intrigues against the English 393. is defeated, and retires to Seringapatam 393. besieged in that fortress by general Harris 399. his death 401
- Tobago, conquest of, by the British i, 204. is reduced by the French under de Bouillé iii, 93. recaptured by the British iv, 181
- Torgau, battle of i, 131
- Tortosa, its capture by the French v, 429
- Tortuga captured by the French i, 275. is restored, *ib.*
- Toulon, its siege by the republicans iv, 141. means suggested by Bonaparte to effect its capture 143. horrible massacre at 147
- Toulouse, battle of vi, 129
- Toussaint l'Ouverture submits to the French arms under the promise of pardon, and dies in prison v, 50
- Townley, Mr., his collection of statues purchased by government vi, 69
- Townshend, Mr. Charles, made chancellor of the exchequer i, 325. his vacillating principles 377. his premature death 378
———, lord, viceroy of Ireland i, 380. his popularity, *ib.* establishes a preponderance of English interests 421. is displaced by the earl of Harcourt ii, 89
- Trafalgar, battle of v, 127
- Trincomalee stormed by the British iii, 76. is recaptured 77
- Trollope, captain, his gallant encounter with six French frigates iv, 289
- Troppau, congress of vi, 452
- Trotter, Mr., paymaster to lord Melville v, 105. investigation of his conduct 106
- Tryon, governor, his expedition into Connecticut ii, 418
- Tucker, dean, first advocates the liberation of America i, 264
- Tuckey, captain, falls a victim to the climate in exploring the interior of Africa vi, 327
- Turcoing, battle of iv, 193
- Turgot, M., placed over the finance department by Louis XVI. ii, 130
- Turkey, by the instigations of France, proclaims war against Great Britain and Russia v, 175. peace restored vi, 21. her dissensions with the Greek colonies 478. horrible cruelties of 498. her disputes with Russia arranged at the congress of Verona 504. her haughty rejection of all interference in the affairs of Greece vii, 153. destruction of her navy in the battle

- of Navarino 156. is engaged in war with Russia 170. obtains a disadvantageous peace 207. escapes the designs of Russia by the intervention of Great Britain and France 354
 Turks invest Missolonghi vii, 95
 Tyrawley, lord, commands the British auxiliaries in Portugal i, 199

U.

- Ulm, surrender of, by general Mack v, 123
 Ulster, extensive insurrections in i, 421. subdued 422
 Union with Ireland effected iv, 443
 Unitarian dissenters relieved from pains and penalties vi, 60
 Ushant, naval engagement off ii, 391
 Uxbridge, earl of, commands the cavalry at Waterloo, and loses his leg in that battle vi, 239. created marquiss of Anglesea 255

V.

- Vaccine inoculation, introduction of, by Dr. Jenner v, 48
 Valencia invested by Suchet v, 464
 Valenciennes besieged and taken by the duke of York iv, 121
 Vandamme, general, his disaster in Bohemia vi, 76
 Van Dieman's Land, its advances in civilisation vii, 30
 Vansittart, Mr., his endeavors to adjust disputes between Mir Cossim and the company i, 343. his agreement disavowed by the council 345
 Vaughan, general, assists Rodney in the reduction of St. Eustatia iii, 90. his defence of his conduct against the censures of Burke 120
 Vergennes, count de, his interference in favor of the Americans ii, 249. his reply to the commissioners 253. his active interference in their behalf 347
 Verona, insurrection and massacre of the French at iv, 321. congress at vi, 504. its arrangements, ib.
 Verplanks captured by Sir Henry Clinton ii, 417
 Versailles, disturbances at iii, 436
 Vice-chancellor, appointment of vi, 60
 Victor, marshal, his attack on the British repelled v, 321. advises Joseph Bonaparte to risk a battle at Talavera, ib. takes possession of Seville 377. is defeated by general Graham at Barosa 435
 Victoria, princess, her birth vi, 403. provision made for her by parliament vii, 284
 Vienna, its occupation by Napoleon v, 135. 334. peace concluded at 335. congress of, opened vi, 151. its arrangements 178
 Villa Flor, count, defeats the troops of Don Miguel at Terceira vii, 212
 Villatte, surprise of his corps by lord Wellington vi, 83

- Villele, M. de, overthrow of his ministry vii, 179
 Villeneuve, admiral, puts to sea from Toulon v, 117. his squadron dispersed off Ferrol by Sir Robert Calder 121. takes shelter in Cadiz 122. quits that port 126. his skilful preparation for an engagement 127. his total defeat and capture 133. his return to France, and melancholy fate, ib.
 Vinegar-hill, defeat of the Irish insurgents at iv, 355
 Virginia, assembly of, their violent resolutions i, 291. petition the British legislature against the stamp act 301. compel lord Dunmore to abdicate the government ii, 191. successful operations of the British in 417
 Vittoria, battle of vi, 87
 Volunteers, demonstrations of their public spirit in their resistance to the threats of French invasion v, 72

W.

- Wager of battle, extraordinary instance of vi, 363. law passed for its repeal, ib.
 Wagram, battle of v, 335
 Walcheren, isle of, its capture by the British v, 341. dreadful mortality of the troops, and its relinquishment, ib.
 Waldegrave, dowager-countess of, her marriage with the duke of Gloucester ii, 59
 Wales, princess-dowager of, her influence over George III. i, 111. her death and character ii, 66
 Wall, Mr., the Spanish minister, his conferences with lord Bristol i, 178
 Walmoden, general, left by the duke of York in the command of the allied army iv, 213. is compelled to quit Holland 214
 Wardle, colonel, his charges against the duke of York v, 285
 Warren, Sir J. B., his gallant engagement with the French iv, 182. captures two French line of battle ships v, 166
 Warington, captain, his trial vii, 295
 Warsaw sacked by Suwarroff iv, 217
 Washington, George, his appointment as commander-in-chief of the republican forces ii, 181. his life and character, ib. his arrival at Boston, and disposition of his army 183. difficulties of his situation 184. gains possession of Dorchester-heights 224. makes a triumphal entry into Boston, ib. defends New York against general Howe and his brother 235. a conspiracy detected against his person, ib. sustains a severe defeat at Brooklyn 243. evacuates New York, and retreats to White Plains 256. is here attacked 257. his able retreat behind the Delaware 259. his brilliant successes at Trenton and Princeton 263. recovers great part of the Jerseys, and saves Pennsylvania 266. is defeated at Brandywine 315. makes an unsuccessful attack on the British at German-town 318. selects Valley Forge for winter quarters 320. sufferings of his troops, ib. he remonstrates with congress 321. attacks Clinton on his

- retreat from Philadelphia 382. reprimands general Lee 383. counteracts the French plans regarding Canada 390. his cautious policy 422. invested with the supreme command of the French army in America iii, 44. refuses to mitigate the sentence of major André 48. his schemes to mislead Sir Henry Clinton 51. suppresses a mutiny in his army 95. invests York-town 106. compels lord Cornwallis to surrender 107. his sternness in retaliating the murder of Huddy 158. his civil services at the conclusion of the war 195. bids adieu to his officers 197. resigns his command to congress, *ib.* chosen president of the United States 198. re-elected to that station 200. his final retreat and death, *ib.*
- Washington, fort, captured by the British ii, 258
 ———, city of, its capture and devastation by the British vi, 157
- Waterloo, battle of vi, 215
- Waterloo-bridge, opening of vi, 346
- Watson, Dr., bishop of Llandaff, his anticipations of the happy effects resulting from the union with Ireland iv, 390
 ———, sen. a ringleader in the Spa-fields riots vi, 316. committed to the Tower on a charge of high treason, with three others 333. his trial and acquittal 339
 ———, jun. shoots a gentleman in the Spa-fields riots vi, 316. escapes to America, *ib.*
- Wattignies, battle of iv, 126
- Wayne, general, surprised by the British ii, 317. retakes Stony-Point 419. instance of his gallantry 420
- Wellesley, marquis, appointed governor-general of India iv, 393. expostulates with Tippoo on his hostile movements 396. directs the advance of the army 397. his judicious partition of the Mysorean territory 402. satisfactorily arranges the affairs of the Carnatic 404. reduces the power of the Mahratta princes 407. is succeeded in his government by the marquis Cornwallis 411. review of his administration, *ib.* appointed envoy extraordinary in Spain v, 327. promoted to the office of foreign secretary 343. resigns his office vi, 3. he is appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland 480. his unpopularity with the Orange party vii, 5. opposes the restriction on public meetings in Ireland 365
 ———, Sir Arthur, (duke of Wellington) his victorious career in India iv, 409. accompanies lord Cathcart to Denmark v, 199. lands at Coruña 241. superseded by Sir H. Burrard 246. obtains a decisive victory at Vimiero 247. returns to England after the convention of Cintra 252. assumes the command of the British army in Portugal 305. recovers Oporto 307. his difficulties 309. he advances into Spain 313. his interview with Cuesta 317. defeats the French at Talavera 323. is raised to the peerage 329. retreats into Portugal 334. his distrust of the Spaniards 379. his plans counteracted by the Portuguese regency 385. he repels the attack of Massena and Ney on his

position at Busacos 395. retreats to the lines of Torres Vedras 400. his spirited remonstrances with the British and Portuguese governments 404. compels the enemy to retreat 405. overtakes them at Pombal 438. defeats Massena at Fuentes Onoro 447. gets possession of Almeida 448. invests Badajos 455. threatens to resign his command 457. repels the attack of Marmont at El Bodon 460. invests Ciudad Rodrigo 463. takes the place by storm vi, 29. his illness and recovery 32. storms Badajos 35. overtakes Marmont at Salamanca 43. his signal victory at that place 49. enters Madrid in triumph 51. his unsuccessful siege of Burgos 52. retires into Portugal, *ib.* repairs to Lisbon 54. receives a grant of £100,000 from parliament 59. surprises a French corps of Villatte at Salamanca 83. attacks the French rear-guard at Morales 84. inflicts a signal defeat on the enemy at Vittoria 87. promoted to the dignity of field marshal 92. invests Pampeluna and St. Sebastian, *ib.* dislodges Soult from his position on the Pyrenees 96. issues a humane proclamation previous to his invasion of France 106. his passage of the Nivelle, *ib.* invests Bayonne 122. defeats Soult at Orthes 123. and gains a complete victory at Toulouse 129. he arrives in England, and is raised to the dukedom 142. his reception by the house of commons 143. deputed by the regent as ambassador to the congress of Vienna 151. assumes the command of the British forces in Belgium 202. repels the attack of Ney at Quatre Bras 210. totally overthrows the enemy at Waterloo 238. issues a pacific proclamation to the French people 242. enters Paris 244. his answer to the appeal of marshal Ney 249. receives a parliamentary grant of £200,000 for the erection of a mansion 254. ambassador at the congress of Verona 504. promoted to the office of commander in chief vii, 116. resigns office at the commencement of Mr. Canning's administration 126. his explanations in the house of peers 134. resumes the command of the army 149. which he again resigns, and accepts the office of premier 151. his differences with Mr. Huskisson 161. procures the repeal of the test and corporation acts 167. refuses to admit the explanations of Mr. Huskisson 169. apathy of his foreign policy 170. his letter to Dr. Curtis 176. determines to carry the catholic question 185. completes the enactment of that great measure 203. fights a duel with the earl of Winchelsea, and excites the enmity of the tories 205. procures the abolition of the beer and leather duties 231. decline of his ministry in public estimation 249. 258. postpones the king's visit to the city 258. dissolution of his cabinet 261. opposes the reform bill 287. his house assaulted by the mob 292. becomes foreign secretary 401. resigns office 414.

Welsh judicature, its abolition vii, 240

West Indies, abolition of slavery in vii, 346

West Point, fortification of, committed to general Arnold ii, 418

Wetherell, Sir Charles, his violent opposition to the claims of the

- catholics vii, 194. opposes the reform bill 283. his narrow escape at Bristol 294
- Wexford, its capture by the Irish rebels iv, 350. relieved by general Moore 355
- Weymouth, lord, appointed secretary of state i, 379. his letter of approbation to the Surrey magistrates denounced by Wilkes 423. complains of a breach of privilege 426. resigns his office ii, 38
- Wheble, Mr., arrested by the sergeant at arms ii, 42. prosecutes the officers by whom he has been seized 43
- Whitelocke, general, makes an unsuccessful attack on Buenos Ayres v, 205. his disgraceful capitulation with the Spanish commandant, ib. is brought to a court-martial, and cashiered, 206
- White Plains, action at ii, 257
- Whitworth, lord, British ambassador at the court of Bonaparte v, 51
- Wilberforce, Mr., takes the lead in the abolition of the slave trade iii, 373. renewal of his exertions on that subject 406. iv, 4. 52. his opposition to Mr. Pitt 219. makes unsuccessful motions for the abolition of the slave trade 231. 341. 392. obtains its adoption by the commons v, 88. and its final enactment 185
- Wilkes, Mr., his violent invectives in the North Briton i, 239. his factious and immoral conduct, ib. is prosecuted for a libel on George III. 242. is apprehended by a general warrant, and committed to the Tower, ib. applies for a writ of *habeas corpus*, and is released on a breach of privilege 244. his renewed violence, ib. retires to France 245. is censured by resolutions of the house of commons 248. fights a duel with Mr. Martin 249. obtains a verdict in his favor against the secretaries of state 252. escapes to the continent 253. expelled the house of commons 255. receives sentence of outlawry 257. returns to England, and makes unsuccessful overtures to the Rockingham administration 405. is returned to parliament for Middlesex 406. is committed to prison by the court of king's bench 408. alarming riots of his partisans 409. sentence of the court for the publication of obscene and seditious libels 412. his violent declamations 423. is expelled the house of commons 428. re-elected, ib. is displaced in favor of colonel Luttrell 430. is chosen an alderman of London, ib. discharged from confinement ii, 13. his struggles for popularity with Horne Tooke 32. resists with impunity the orders of the commons 44. is elected lord mayor, and presents an address to the king for the dismissal of ministers 166. his furious philippic against the corporation of London 220. succeeds in his motion for expunging from the journals of the house of commons the resolutions regarding the Middlesex election iii, 139. his address to Mr. Pitt 240
- William IV., his birth i, 297. sails as a midshipman under

- Rodney ii, 426. opposes the abolition of the slave-trade iv, 55. conducts the allied sovereigns to England vi, 144. his marriage 356. accepts the office of lord high admiral vii, 128. his resignation of that post 170. succeeds to the throne 242. simplicity of his habits, ib. his appearance in public, and great popularity 248. postpones his visit to the city 258. his coronation 284
- Williams, Mr., sentenced to the pillory for republishing the North Briton i, 298
- , John, commits suicide in Coldbath-fields prison v, 425
- Williamson, Mr., atrocious murder of himself and family v, 424
- Wilson, Dr. Thomas, his servility reproved by George III. i, 131
- , Sir Robert, his zealous co-operation in organizing the defence of Portugal v, 298. suffers imprisonment for assisting in the escape of Lavallette vi, 250. deprived of his commission for his conduct at the funeral of queen Caroline 475
- Windham, Mr., his support of the principles of Mr. Burke, in opposition to the French revolution iii, 451. iv, 83. accepts the office of secretary of war v, 146. equity and utility of his military arrangements 155. his death 345
- Wolfe Tone convicted of high treason, and puts a period to his existence iv, 359
- Wolseley, Sir Charles, chosen member of parliament for Birmingham by a tumultuous assembly vi, 383. his trial and imprisonment 384
- Woodfall, the printer, prosecuted for a libel on king George III. by Junius ii, 23
- Wraxall, Sir Nathaniel, his graphic description of the intelligence of lord Cornwallis's surrender to the Americans iii, 111
- Wright, captain, taken prisoner by the French iv, 289. his death v, 97
- , Susannah, her trial and conviction for continuing the publication of Carlile's blasphemies vi, 502
- Wurmser, general, takes Manheim from the republicans iv, 251. defeated by Bonaparte 285. surrenders the citadel of Mantua to Bonaparte 319
- Wyoming, its destruction by American savages ii, 387

Y.

- Yeo, Sir James, his reduction of Oswego vi, 155. is compelled to retire from Sackett's harbor, ib. prefers an accusation against Sir George Prevost 156
- York, destruction of its cathedral by fire vii, 222
- , Edward, duke of, his death i, 378
- , cardinal, his death v, 209
- , duchess of, her marriage iv, 19. her death and character vi, 448

Yorke, Mr., accepts the seals, and is raised to the peerage ii, 7.
puts a period to his existence, ib.

_____, **Sir Joseph**, demands the recall of the Dutch governor of
St. Eustatia ii, 286. his remonstrances with the States-General
on their partiality to the Americans 425

Z.

Zoutman, admiral, engages the English fleet off the Doggerbank
iii, 89

THE END.

13
22

21

This book should be returned to the
Library on or before the last date stamped
below.

A fine of five cents a day is incurred by
retaining it beyond the specified time.

Please return promptly.



3 2044 090 368 119